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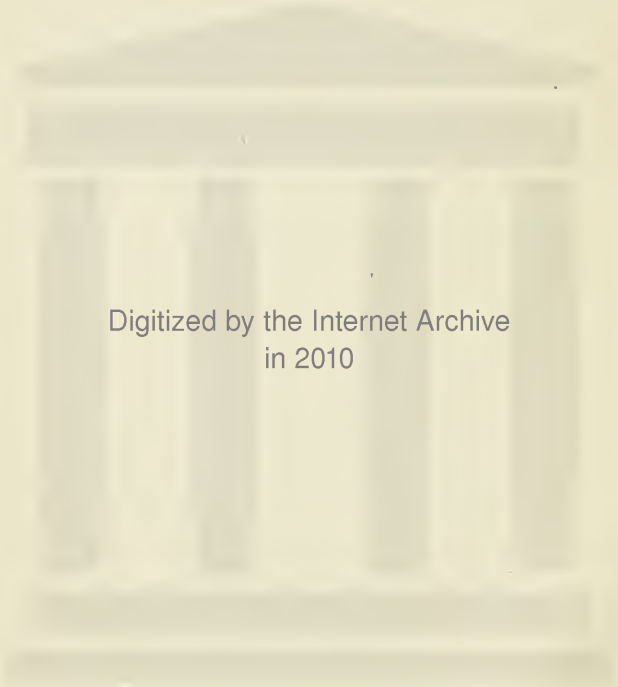

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HISTORY OF
CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

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CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

BY

CHARLES SEIGNOBOS

Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris

TRANSLATION EDITED BY

JAMES ALTON JAMES, Ph.D.

Professor of History in Northwestern University

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PREFACE

Professor Seignobos has in "Contemporary Civilization" brought the narrative down to the year 1888. It sustains the high level of excellence which distinguishes the volumes on "Ancient Civilization" and "Mediæval Civilization." Of particular value are the chapters on: The European Peoples Outside of Europe; Arts, Letters, and Sciences in the Nineteenth Century; Economic Reforms in France and in Europe; and Democracy and Socialism.

It has been thought best to give as Appendix I, the bibliography used by the author. In Appendix II is to be found a general list of books in the English language on the topics treated.

I am under obligation to Miss Margaret Richie Wiseman, of Hardin College, Missouri, for the translation.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, *May* 1, 1908.

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A HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE NEW EUROPEAN POWERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Commencement of Contemporary Civilization.—It has been the custom to have contemporary civilization begin with the year 1789, and, in fact, the great changes which characterize contemporary civilization appear with the French Revolution. But a preparation for these changes was made through a less apparent transformation, which goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was, in fact, at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. that those new political doctrines were formed, throughout all Europe, which were to cause the destruction of the ancient institutions and to bring about reforms and then a revolution.

At the same time the relations of the different governments were transformed. In America, an English colonial empire had been founded, which prepared the way for the appearance of a new and great nation—the United States. In Europe, three great powers of the seventeenth century—Spain, Sweden, and Holland—were reduced to the rank of secondary powers. By the side of France, which had lost the supremacy, appeared the four other nations which were to be the great powers of the nineteenth century—England, victorious over Louis XIV.,

Austria strengthened by the expulsion of the Turks, and the two new states, the kingdom of Prussia and the empire of Russia.

Prussia.—The kingdom of Prussia,[1] created in 1701, like almost all the German states, was composed of domains gathered together, one by one, through the efforts of the reigning family. It was not a country but only an assemblage of territories scattered throughout Germany, in every direction, and having no communication with each other; some were far to the west, even on the left bank of the river Rhine; the province of Prussia was to the east, outside of the limits of the empire; in the centre was Brandenburg. All these provinces were poor, and with a small population (in all about 2,000,000 souls). Prussia was nothing but a small state. The Hohenzollerns have made of it a great power. They had no ideas concerning the nature of government which were different from those of the princes of their time. They, also, exercised the "family policy," seeking, above all, to augment the power of their house by the increase of their domains, and their power; they, too, determined upon a "state policy," employing every means in their power for the accomplishment of the purpose in view. But they differed from the other princes in their manner of living, and that is the reason for their success. Instead of squandering their revenues for the purpose of keeping up a court and in giving extravagant spectacles and feasts, they devoted them entirely to the expenses of the state, and especially to the support of an army.

[1] The emperor, who had sold this title of king to the elector of Brandenburg, did not want to attach it to any German province. Prussia was chosen because it was not a part of the empire, and to the new king was given the title of King of Prussia.

The Court.—Frederick I., who was the first to bear the title of king, had a large court after the style of Louis XIV. His successor, Frederick William, dismissed it and kept only four chamberlains, four gentlemen in waiting, eighteen pages, six lackeys, five valets de chambre. He wore a blue uniform and white pantaloons; he always had a sword at his side, and carried a cane in his hand; he had only benches and chairs made of wood—no arm-chairs nor carpets; his table was so badly served that his children seasoned their food with hunger. He spent his evenings in the company of his generals and his ministers, all smoking tobacco in long Dutch pipes and drinking beer. This gross manner of living, which shocked the other princes, gave him the surname of the "Sergeant-King."

His successor, Frederick II., was, on the contrary, very well educated. He loved music, wrote French easily—composing French verses—and read the works of the philosophers. However, he lived almost as simply as did his father. He dwelt at Potsdam, only frequenting the society of his officers, his functionaries, and of several philosophers. He had no court (he was separated from the queen, and received no ladies). He wore patched garments, and his furniture was torn by the dogs who were his constant companions. After his death his entire wardrobe was sold for 1,500 francs. His sole luxury was his collection of snuff-boxes; he left 130 of them.

The Budget of the Kings of Prussia.—The money which the kings of Prussia saved from their personal expenses they devoted to the use of their army. Frederick William spent upon himself and his court only 52,000 thaler (less than 40,000 dollars) per annum. The receipts of the kingdom, at that time, amounted to 6,900,000 thalers

(5,200,000 dollars). They should have been almost equally divided between the military expenses and the ordinary expenses, but in reality the king took 1,400,000 thalers (1,050,000 dollars) from the ordinary expense account and added it to the amount for the army. So there was only 960,000 thalers (750,000 dollars) for the ordinary expenses of the kingdom. The remainder was used to support the army or to create a revenue fund. The king had succeeded in maintaining on a war-footing 80,000 men, and at his death he left in hard money a treasure of 8,700,000 thalers (6,500,000 dollars). Frederick II., like his father, saved his money for the army and for the reserve fund; he was able to keep a standing army of 200,000 men, in spite of the "Seven Years' War," which devastated his kingdom, and at his death the treasury contained 55,000,000 thalers (more than 40,000,000 dollars).

The Army.—The Prussian army, like all the armies of those times, was composed of volunteers. Recruiting-officers were sent through all Germany seeking for men; they opened their offices in the inns, and there received any who wanted to enlist in the service of the king of Prussia. These recruits were for the most part adventurers, or deserters from the army of some German prince. Often the recruiting-officers secured men through a ruse, or by violence—making them drunk, and then forcing them to take the money of the king—or often they carried off the men while they were intoxicated. One of these officers, wanting to enroll a cabinet-maker, who had such a fine figure that the officer wished to make a grenadier of him, ordered him to make a case large enough to hold himself. The workman brought the case, and the officer declared that it was too small; the cabinet-maker, to prove

the contrary, lay down in it; immediately the cover was shut down and the case was sent off. When it was opened the cabinet-maker was found to be asphyxiated.

These enrolments did not suffice to recruit a sufficiently large army. In 1733 the king resolved to complete his regiments with his own subjects. He established a sort of obligatory military service. All the provinces of the kingdom were divided into cantons, each canton was to furnish the recruits necessary to fill out a regiment. All the inhabitants could be enrolled except the nobles, the sons of pastors, and the sons of the bourgeois families who had a fortune of at least 6,000 thalers (4,500 dollars). (There were hardly any families in Prussia that could count more wealth.) During the wars of Frederick II. men became so rare that they enrolled school-boys. When a child was growing fast, the parents used to say: "Don't grow so fast or the recruiting-officer will catch you!"

The Prussian soldiers were subject to a very severe discipline. The officers, with cane in hand, watched the drilling, and beat whoever did not exactly execute the movements ordered. Every regiment had to manœuvre as one man, with the precision of a machine. The soldiers were taught to load their guns in twelve movements (this was the load in twelve). When a battalion fired, one ought to see but one flash and hear but one report. No country had an infantry so well trained. The Prussian drill was celebrated throughout all Europe. But this life was so laborious that it was necessary to keep the barracks under a strict surveillance in order to prevent the soldiers from escaping, and Frederick II. in time of war placed a cordon of cavalry around the regiments on the march so as to be able to arrest the deserters.

In this army there was no chance of promotion for the soldier; the officers were taken from among the young nobles; for all the Prussian nobility were in the service of the king. But, while in other countries the places for the officers were given as favors and even sold, in Prussia one could not become an officer until he had passed through a military school (the school for cadets), and one could not secure an office of rank until he had passed through the inferior grades. Even the princes of the royal family were obliged to serve and to win all their grades one by one.

No government in Europe had, at that time, so large an army in proportion to the number of its subjects—80,000 men for a country of 2,500,000 souls. This was six times greater than Austria, and four times greater than France possessed. Now, in the seventeenth century, as all difficulties between nations were decided by war, the importance of a power was measured by the strength of its army. The King of Prussia, with his little state and large army, became one of the three great powers in Europe. The Sergeant-King had prepared that army. Frederick the Great made use of it. He added two provinces to his kingdom (Silesia and Polish Prussia); he had received 2,240,000 subjects, and he left 6,000,000 to his successor.

The Administration.—The kings of Prussia carried out the system of absolute authority in their kingdom. They were more absolute even than the other princes of their time. No other sovereign exacted as much from his people. The nobles, who had hitherto been exempt, were made to pay taxes by order of Frederick William. They protested and presented a petition, which ended in these words: "The whole country will be ruined." "I do not believe it," answered the king; "it is authority of

the nobles only that will be ruined. My kingdom is founded on a rock of bronze." He looked upon himself as the master of his subjects, and wanted to regulate their costume even; he forbade them to wear cotton stuffs, and whoever kept any in his house was to be condemned to pay a fine and to wear an iron collar as a punishment. He pretended even that he had the right to be loved. One day he seized by the collar a young Jew who was trying to run away from him, and giving him a beating with his cane, said: "You ought not to fear me, do you hear? You should love me." Frederick II. established a monopoly for beverages and gave it to the French farmers, in spite of the complaints of his subjects. He did not permit any resistance to his orders. "Argue as much as you like," said he, "but obey and pay."

The distinguishing feature of this monarchy was that the king himself made it his business to be a king. He watched over his employees, and demanded that everything should be done with regularity. "The prince," said Frederick, "far from being the absolute master of the state, is only its chief domestic." An order of Frederick II., dated 1749, gives an example of this kind of surveillance. "As different employees have maltreated certain peasants, beating them with their canes, and as His Majesty is fully determined not to endure such tyranny over his subjects, he ordains that when an employee has been convicted for having beaten a peasant, he shall immediately, without mercy, be incarcerated in a fortress for the term of six years, even though said employee should pay better than all the others." All business of the government was brought before the king, who read the papers, and set notes on the margin with his own hand.

Thanks to this régime of frugality and regularity, the house of Prussia has created, in the midst of the other absolute monarchies, a new form, the military monarchy, more durable than the others, because it is better regulated. Therefore the kings of Prussia have been able to preserve their absolute authority down to our day and have also been able to conquer all the other states of Germany.

Origin of the Russian Empire.—The great plains of Eastern Europe, extending from the Oder River to the Ural Mountains, have been inhabited, from the beginning of the Middle Ages, by peoples of Slavic origin. The Slavs are a white race, from the same stock as the other peoples of Europe; their language, like the Latin, the Greek, and the German, is from the Aryan. This Slav race, the most numerous of all the Western races, is divided into several nationalities; to the west are the Poles and the Czechs of Bohemia; to the south the Croats, the Servians, and the Bulgarians, established in the Byzantine empire.

The Slavs of the east had remained divided into tribes down to the ninth century. They cultivated the land, and lived in villages composed of houses made of wood; their towns were only enclosures surrounded by a wall of earth and a ditch. Here they took refuge in time of war. It was the warlike Northmen, coming from Sweden, who gathered these tribes into one nation; it was called the Russian nation, as that was the name of the country from which came their chiefs. The Russian princes organized an army, were converted to the Greek religion, and ordered their subjects to be baptized. Thus in the eleventh century Russia became an orthodox Christian country, joined to the church at Constantinople. This old Russia included the country of the lakes and the region of the Dnieper;

that is, the western part of modern Russia, known as Little Russia. It had two capitals: Novgorod the Great, the city of the merchants, on the shore of Lake Ilmen; and Kiev the Holy, a city with four hundred churches, on the banks of the Dnieper, where arose the cathedral of "Saint Sophia," ornamented with Greek frescoes on a gold ground, and with Greek inscriptions.

This Russia did not succeed in forming a permanent state; at the death of each prince, the country was divided among his sons; in the thirteenth century there were seventy-two principalities. An army of 300,000 Tartar horsemen came from Asia and destroyed all these small states, and from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the whole of Russia was subject to a Mongol prince, the Great Khan of the Horde d'Or, who dwelt in a village on the shores of the Volga. The native Russian princes were nothing but servants of the khan; they were obliged, on their accession, to go to his court, prostrate themselves before him, and receive from him the titles of investiture. When the khan sent to them any message, they were obliged to spread down rare carpets for the bearers of the message, offer them a cup full of gold pieces and on their knees they must listen to the reading of the letter.

During this time, the Russians of the west had colonized gradually the desert-like forests in the east and had created a new Russian nation. The princes of Moscow, in assuming the burden of collecting the tribute paid to the Tartar khans, had become the most powerful sovereigns of the country. For two centuries they, aided by the Tartar armies, labored to subdue the principalities; they were called the "Russian land-gatherers." In the sixteenth century the great princes of Moscow became free

from the Tartar dominion, and Ivan IV. took the title of czar, that is, king (1547). The true Russia henceforth is at the east, the country of the Volga River, Greater Russia. The village of Moscow, built at the foot of the citadel of the Kremlin, became the capital of the new empire.

The Czar.—The czar, who governs the most widely extended empire in Europe, has an absolute power of a very peculiar nature. All his subjects call themselves his slaves; following the oriental fashion, they present themselves before him, striking the ground with the forehead (in Russian a petition is still called "a beating of the forehead"). All that is in his empire belongs to him, men as well as things; he has the right to take away the property of his subjects, or to put them to death without any other formality than a mere order. There is no law but his will, the only Russian laws are the "ukases," that is, the orders of the czars. At the same time the people regard the czar as a sacred personage in whom Holy Russia is incarnate, and as a father whom their religion orders them to love. The peasant even calls him father, and addresses him by thee and thou. The inhabitants of Pskov had for many centuries the right to meet and adjust their own affairs, without interference. When Vasili ordered them to take away the bell which used to call the assembly together, they answered him: "We, thy orphaned children, we are bound to thee until the end of all things. To God and to thee all things are permitted in this thy patrimony."

The Russians obey their czar with fear and love as a master, a father, and a representative of God himself. There is in all Russia no counterpoise to this omnipotent authority. Russia has neither institutions nor ancient customs which the czar is obliged to respect; the Russian

law is only a collection of the ukases of the czars. Russia has no assembly to discuss the assessment of taxes, nor one even to present petitions.[1] At the close of the sixteenth century the family of the czars, descended from Rurik, became extinct. A Polish and a Swedish prince invaded Russia and were about to settle, one at Moscow the other at Novgorod. The Russians rose in revolt against these strangers, and in 1612 a general assembly of all the great personages and of the delegates from the towns was called to choose a new czar, Michael Romanoff; but as soon as the czar was named the assembly dissolved without trying to take part in the government. Russia had not even an established system of justice; the czar had the right to condemn whom he would to the knout (the knout is the terrible Tartar whip, with long lashes of leather, which cut the skin, and a single blow of which may cause death). This was the usual punishment for a long time. The government of the czars has often been called "the reign of the knout." An order alone was sufficient for the decapitation of the accused, even of the greatest personage, and the czar himself used to cut off the heads with his own hand. Ivan the Terrible, to the end of his life, had a list of his victims drawn up so as to recommend them to the prayers of the church. The list yielded a total of 3,480 persons; 986 only are indicated by name, which is followed by "with his wife and children," or "with his children"; the czar had caused the execution of a whole family with that of their chief.

Nobles and Peasants.—Russia had no cities (Moscow itself was but a large village); it was a nation of peasants,

[1] The calling of the *Doma*, in 1906, makes it necessary to modify this statement.—ED.

therefore it had no middle class. There were only two classes, peasants and nobles. The Russian nobility does not at all resemble the nobility of the other countries in Europe. It has been from its origin a nobility of the court (the word "dvoriano," which we translate by noble signifies a courtier). The nobles were: 1, the relatives of the imperial family, the "kniazes" (very numerous in Russia); 2, the descendants of the men who had exercised some function at court, the "boyars." For a long time precedence was regulated by the office which the ancestors had held at court; from this arose violent quarrels. The members of each family made it a point of honor to preserve the rank of their family. Even at the table of the czar, a noble refused to sit down in a place below another noble whose ancestors had had a less distinguished office than that held by his own family; in vain the czar ordered the officers to seat him by force, the boyar arose violently and went out, crying that he would prefer to have his head cut off rather than to yield his place. But at the end of the seventeenth century, the czar, in order to put an end to these quarrels, had only to burn the books where was inscribed the order of precedence. Since that time the rank of a noble has been regulated only by the function which he himself fills at court. The nobles were nobles only by will of the czar; he had given them their title, he could take it away from them. "Sir," said the czar, Paul I., to a foreigner, "I know no great lord here except the man to whom I am speaking, and while I am speaking to him."

It was the lands which the czar had given them which made the importance of the nobles, for in Russia, as in all the empires of the Orient, the whole territory belonged to

the czar. The peasants were not proprietors of the soil; they cultivated it for the benefit of the czar, or for his servants, the nobles, and they formed an inferior class called "moujiks" (inferior men). Until the sixteenth century they had had the right to pass from one domain to another each year on Saint George's day, the 26th of November; they could in that way change masters; their condition was that of our farm domestics; they were not proprietors, but they were free. During the civil wars at the end of the sixteenth century, in order to prevent the laborers from emigrating toward the south, the czars forbade the peasants to change land on St. George's day (1597). The moujik remained attached to the land which he cultivated, and forever subject to the proprietor. The condition of the peasants was at that time more unendurable in Russia than in any other country of Europe.[1] The proprietor exacted from them three days of hard labor a week, on his own lands, or an annual rent called the "obrock."

They were subject, without relief, to the caprices of the master and of his intendant, without having even the assurance of being left in their village, as was the custom among the serfs in France. The master could take them into his house as domestics without giving them any wages; he could marry them off at his pleasure, send them away as soldiers, or as farmers, even sell them to distant masters. He could beat them and imprison them without being called to account for it. These peasants bore more resemblance to the slaves of antiquity than to the serfs of

[1] The peasants remained free in the region of the northeast, where there were no nobles, and on the shores of the Dnieper, in the Ukraine, where they continued to live like warriors.

the Middle Ages. They were called in Russian *consols;* we call them *serfs.*

The Russian Church.—The Russian people, converted by missionaries from Constantinople, had adopted the religion and the customs of the Greek Church; it was, and has remained, orthodox. The clergy is divided into two kinds: the monks, who are called the black clergy, live in convents, and have not the right to marry; the priests (popes), who solemnize the service and form the white clergy, are married; in practice, marriage is almost obligatory.

The black clergy govern the church; for the bishops, who are obliged to live in celibacy, can be chosen only from among the monks. The popes are hardly above the peasants in rank, and live among them. They have prepared themselves to be popes through an apprenticeship as if preparing for some manual labor; they have only learned to sing and to celebrate the service of the church, they hardly know how to read. For a long time they were forbidden to preach sermons.

The Russian Church was independent of Constantinople, it had its own liturgy, written in the old Slavonic tongue; in the sixteenth century the czar appointed a patriarch as head of the whole Russian Church. As the liturgical books, frequently recopied, had been altered during the Middle Ages, the patriarch Nicon wanted, in 1654, to correct the errors and faults of the copyists, and to restore the text and the ceremonies in all the purity of the ancient church. Although he was sustained by a council of all the bishops, this reform caused great offence. The Russians had been very greatly attached to the exterior observances of the church; they are so still. They observe the very

rigorous rules for Lent ordered by the Greek Church, eating neither meat nor eggs during the forty days; in each house there is an image (icon) before which they offer prayers and burn candles.

Many Russians persisted in their former observances, refused to accept the corrections of the patriarch and ceased to frequent the churches where the reformed rites were celebrated. They were called dissenters ("raskolniks"); they called themselves the "old believers." The difference between them and the orthodox only bears upon certain exterior usages; the "old believers" would only make the sign of the cross with two fingers instead of three; they pronounced Isous (Jesus), instead of Iissous, and thought that it was a mortal sin to shave the beard or to smoke. But for these questions of form, the "raskolniks" let themselves be persecuted, imprisoned, and put to death. They have come down through two centuries of persecution and are still very numerous to-day, especially among the free peasants of the north, and among the merchants in the cities and towns.

Introduction of Western Civilization into Russia.—At the close of the sixteenth century the Russians were still an Asiatic people; they wore long beards and long robes, after the oriental manner, the women lived secluded in their apartments, and did not go out, unless closely veiled. The Russians were not interested in any of the industries which occupied the nations of the Occident, they detested the Western peoples, and looked upon them all, Catholics and Protestants, as heretics.

In the middle of the sixteenth century (1553) some English mariners, seeking for a route to China, had discovered the White Sea. This was, at that time, the only sea

to which the empire of the czar had access (the shores of the Baltic belonged to the King of Sweden, and the shores of the Black Sea were in the possession of the Sultan of Turkey). The port of Archangel was for more than a century the only point through which Europe could communicate with Russia. The czar had permitted that a town should be founded there, and had given the monopoly of the commerce to the English and Dutch merchants who lived there. Ivan the Terrible had brought there architects and engineers from Italy, and he had even established a printing-house.

Nevertheless, the Russians still remained barbarians, and the embassies, which the czar sometimes sent to the courts of Europe, appeared to be only troops of savages. In 1656 two ambassadors arrived at Leghorn, who astonished the Italians by their filth and by their gross manners. They slept on the ground in their clothing, which they did not take off, kept their handkerchiefs in the caps on their heads; at the table they took the bits of food from the plates with their fingers and stuck them on the end of the forks. They were furnished with food and tins of wine; and on departing carried off the empty casks, so as to increase their baggage train. They drank brandy until they were intoxicated, and beat their domestics with heavy sticks. A poet had composed a sonnet in honor of one of the ambassadors; the other ambassador was very angry, and to calm him he was presented with a sonnet in his honor. This time it was the other one who showed his wrath because his own sonnet was not written on such beautiful paper. Not only did they know no language but Russian, they were also ignorant of the geography of the countries to which they were sent. In their reports, ad-

dressed to the czar, the names of the towns through which they had passed were always incorrectly given.

To this ignorance the Russians added a puerile passion for the forms of etiquette. An embassy was sent to Louis XIV., in 1681, in order to conclude a commercial treaty. Every time that the name of the ruler of Russia had to be used in the treaty the chief of the embassy, Potemkin, desired that the following formula be repeated: "Your Imperial Majesty." He complained that the letter written in response by the King of France was smaller than the one sent to him by the czar. He was told that the piece of parchment was quite as large, and that if it appeared smaller, it was because the manner of folding it was different. The day when Louis XIV. received him in audience, Potemkin, after saying a few words, stopped. The interpreter said: "If you wish to speak, continue; if not, I will go on." "You see," said Potemkin, "I pronounce the name of the czar, and the king does not stir, he does not even raise his hat." He wanted Louis XIV. to lift it every time that the name of the czar was mentioned.

This barbarous people could not always remain aloof from the Christian civilization. But for more than a century it was doubtful whether that civilization would penetrate into Russia by way of Catholic Poland, or through the Protestant countries to the north. Some Russian seigniors had begun to adopt the Polish costume. The peoples of the north got the start, because they were introduced into the very heart of Russia. The czars, when they invaded a foreign country, were accustomed to bring away a part of the inhabitants, in order to have them settle in their empire. In 1565 Ivan had brought to Moscow

more than 3,000 Germans, whom he had carried off from the provinces on the Baltic Sea. Thus was formed a foreign colony that had its own pastors and churches. In the sixteenth century it was increased by emigrants drawn there through the efforts of the czar, or who had come to make their fortunes—engineers, carpenters, miners, doctors, pharmacists, traders, officers; they were from every country. But the Germans, Dutch, and English were in the majority. At first they had lived among the Russians. In 1652 they were thought to be too proud, too well-dressed; they were forbidden to wear the Russian dress, and were forced to settle outside of the town of Moscow, in a quarter by themselves; this was the "Sloboda" of the foreigners; in 1678 they numbered about 18,000 souls. The Russian people hated these foreigners, and did not desire to adopt their customs, and the czars, brought up to respect the Russian religion, had no motive to induce them to take sides with the civilization of the heretics.

But at the close of the seventeenth century there came to the throne a czar who had been educated in a very different manner from his predecessors. Peter I. had been proclaimed a czar, while he was still a child, but his sister Sophia had taken possession in his place and had sent him off to a house in the country. His education was much neglected, he learned neither Latin nor orthography, he had no religious instruction; but he made the acquaintance of some foreigners, visited their quarter, and was seized with a passion for an old boat which he had found abandoned in a granary, and he amused himself at playing the navigator and soldier. He went to Archangel, where he lived among sailors and carpenters. Later

(1697) he made a journey to Western Europe for the purpose of study, taking with him from two hundred to two hundred and fifty young Russians whom he wished to have instructed[1] in the methods of Western civilization.

From the time of his return to Russia Peter labored in the effort to transform the Russians into Europeans. He had no Russian prejudices, no taste for Russian manners, no respect for the Russian religion; he was full of admiration for the civilization of the Occident, and impatient to introduce it into his empire. Accustomed to the idea that the czar had only to command in order to be obeyed, he ordered his subjects to change their customs, threatening them with the penalty of a fine or the knout in case they did not obey. He forbade the long beards, and himself cut off those of the seigniors of his court. Then by a "ukase" he ordered all the functionaries of the court to wear the European costume. He permitted the use of tobacco, which had been forbidden as a "diabolical weed" by the Russian Church; he himself set the example by smoking it. He commanded the women to appear at the gatherings of the court, to wear the European costume, with the face uncovered. Later, at St. Petersburg (1718), he tried to establish the salon life. He ordered the principal seigniors to hold, in turn, assemblies; that is, to give evening parties where the nobles could come with their wives, and where they could amuse themselves in the European fashion, dance, play cards, smoke, chat; a law prescribed the refreshments to be served. Naturally

[1] Many legends have grown up around the life of Peter the Great. Voltaire made a collection of them and caused their adoption into history. It is related that he worked for a long time as a common workman in the ship-yards of Saardam in Holland. He only visited Saardam, staying but eight days.

these obligatory assemblies did not at all resemble the French salons; the Russian ladies, accustomed to a life of seclusion, stood motionless and silent; the men all got drunk.

Peter had begun reforms which were most offensive to the people; he wounded at the same time the national sentiment and the religious sentiment; every one opposed him. The clergy, seeing him visit the heretics, accused him of wishing to destroy religion; to suppress the beards was almost a heresy; one of the patriarchs declared that a man without a beard looked more like a cat than a human being. The Russian army (the Strelitzers) was discontented because the czar gave all the commands to the foreign officers. The people of Moscow could not endure to see him visit the "Sloboda" of the foreigners, and to know that he refused to take his place in the religious ceremonies. His wife Eudoxia, and his son Alexander, supported the malcontents. Alexander refused to learn any foreign language, and declared that after the death of his father he would restore the old customs and manners.

Many Russians could not believe that a Russian czar would pursue such a line of action. They said that Peter was not the true czar, but the son of a German woman, or perhaps, indeed, a foreigner who had come back from Europe in the place of Peter.

Peter had only his friends and the foreigners on his side. But he was the czar, and this people, accustomed to obey the czar, did not know how to revolt against his authority. The malcontents complained in secret and they had to be arrested and condemned to the knout to make them speak.

In order to destroy the opposition to his plans, Peter employed his usual procedure—force. The "Strelitzers" had mutinied in his absence; on his return he had them tortured with the knout, then long pieces of wood were set up upon which the rebels were laid in rows, and the czar cut off their heads. In order to rid himself of the clergy he dismissed the patriarch and would not allow another to be chosen in his place. In order to quell the opposition in his family he condemned his wife to the knout and put his son to death. Then he set up a new family, marrying a Livonian prisoner, Catherine. He had her crowned as czarina, made his home with her at St. Petersburg, and had his two daughters educated in the European fashion. It was these women who continued his work.

In order to be delivered from the people of Moscow he created a new capital in a foreign land, near to the Baltic, to which he gave the German name of St. Petersburg. He brought people there by forcing a portion of the inhabitants of Archangel to settle in the new capital and commanded all the seigniors to build mansions for themselves in that city. Peter passed the period of his reign in introducing into Russia the acts and the institutions of Europe which he had greatly admired.

That which he understood best in European civilization was the material inventions; he himself was carpenter, soldier, sailor, engraver. The foreigners whom he brought into Russia were neither artists nor learned men, but workmen and engineers; the schools which he founded were practical schools (the Marine Academy, Commercial School). The books which he had had translated into Russian were technical works and books on political

economy and geography. He occupied himself with the details of the trades; he ordered the shoemakers to change their methods of working under pain of confiscation; he forbade the wearing of large nails in the boots, and also the making of boats according to the Russian method, because that used up too much wood; he regulated the form of the sickles and the hoes, the manner of cutting wood, and of harvesting the grain. "Our people," said he, in one of his laws, "are like children who learn their A, B, C's with effort and repugnance, so that the teacher is obliged to force them to do it. At first that appears disagreeable to them but when they have learned, they are very grateful to their teacher."

Transformation of the Russian Nobility.—Peter did not diminish the power of the czar; he strengthened it by employing instruments of government unknown to old Russia—an army and a systematic administration. Without taking into account the habits of the Russian people, he transported into his empire institutions of the Western countries whose names he had not even taken the trouble to change. He organized his army on the German model with field-marshals and generals. The soldiers were clothed in the European uniform, armed like the troops of Europe, and were divided into foot-soldiers and dragoons (the Cossacks alone have kept their national costume and preserved their old methods of fighting). He created a fleet, modelled upon that of Holland, by forcing into the service the Russians, who had a horror of the sea. He created an administration copied from the administration used in Sweden; a senate composed of nine members, and assemblies for the purposes of government; judges and governors for administration,

and for the police a secret cabinet. In the assemblies, which were called colleges, the president was a Russian, the vice-presidents were foreigners.

In order to organize this administration Peter abolished the title of boyar and created a table of ranks or grades. All civil functions were made to correspond with grades in the army.[1] So there were fourteen degrees, each corresponding to a grade; the chancellor in the civil service belonged to the first degree or rank, occupying the same position as the field-marshal in the army; the registrar of a college was in the lowest rank, on an equality with an ensign. In the civil service they were advanced from one degree to the other just as in the army. Russian society to-day is a regiment where each one is ranked according to his grade. The pupil, coming from college and entering the university, is already enrolled in the regiment; he belongs to the fourteenth degree. All men provided with a grade, when taken together, are called "tchine." In Russia there is no longer any other nobility. Every functionary is a noble because he is in the service of the czar, and every noble must take part in the functions of the government. Peter had established it as a law that every family which for two generations had not taken part in the service of the government should cease to be noble. When they wish to honor a merchant who has become rich, a savant, a writer, a physician, he is given an official title (candidate, commercial advisor), which assures him a rank in the "tchine" and puts him on an equality with a

[1] Some years ago, a university professor, who was making a scientific journey through Siberia, visiting one of the military posts commanded by a subaltern officer, often saw the chief of the post pay him all the honors due to a superior officer; his title of professor had placed him in the position of a commandant.

major or a colonel. The Russian nobility has become an official nobility. Formerly all the degrees in the "tchine" were transmitted to the children; to-day the inferior grades confer only an individual nobility.

Venality.—For a long time the functionaries of the Russian administration kept the old barbarian customs, but under European names. Formerly the czar himself, when he gave employment to a man, used to say to him: "Live on your office, and gorge yourself." The functionaries continued to regard office as a means of getting money from the people under their jurisdiction. Peter the Great did not wish that his employees should pay themselves; they were to be contented with the salary which he gave them. He forbade them to accept any presents, he ordered several governors to be beheaded for bribery, and his chief officer of finance was broken on the wheel like a common thief; but his administrators did not mend their ways. One day, it is said, when the czar was dictating to his attorney-general a law which ordered the punishment, by death, of every employee convicted of venality: "Your Majesty," said the attorney, "then wishes to remain quite alone in the state? We all steal, some more and more stupidly, others less and more adroitly." Venality was a trait of the customs of the time, administrators and those under their authority found it very natural that an employee should pay himself for fulfilling the functions of his office. In our day, even, the government has succeeded in concealing venality but not in suppressing it.

The Government of Russia in the Eighteenth Century.—Peter the Great had imposed the civilization and the institutions of Europe upon the Russian people. At the same time he had made a great military and maritime power

of the empire of Russia. He had destroyed the army of the King of Sweden, and had conquered all the provinces on the shores of the Baltic. He had begun a war against the sultan in order to conquer the provinces along the Black Sea. He had profited by the invasion of the Swedes, and entered Poland under pretext of defending it. Through the Polish nobles he had forced upon the king (1717) a law which forbade him to have an army of more than 18,000 men.

At his death, in 1725, he left the Russian people discontented, ruined by new taxes, decimated by wars and enforced labor. But he had succeeded in transforming the old, barbarous, and half Asiatic Russia into a great European empire. This metamorphosis, which would seem to have demanded a century for its accomplishment, Peter had brought about in one generation.

This premature work was incomplete and unsubstantial. The sentiments of the Russians were not changed, and the will of another czar would have been sufficient to destroy what the will of Peter had created. It was believed, at one time, that such a czar had come to the throne. The grandson of Peter the Great, Peter II., returned to Moscow, where, like the ancient czars, he began to hunt and to drink; the councils ceased to act, and it was almost necessary to abandon the Baltic provinces. But after his death the authority passed to three women, successively, who came and settled at St. Petersburg, and who permitted their favorites to govern the empire. The work of Peter the Great was saved by the court at St. Petersburg and by the foreign functionaries, Munich, Biron, Ostermann, and Lestocq. It was definitely consolidated by a German woman, Catherine, who had come into Russia as the wife

of the Czar Peter III., and who got rid of her husband and had herself crowned czarina.

During the eighteenth century the Russian nobles grew accustomed to the European manners and usages, and adopted them cheerfully; they no longer wished to be boyars, they wanted to be European nobles; their children learned no other language but French, and then came a time, when, in the best society, no one could speak Russian. Russian was only the language of the people and of the domestics.

But this transformation took place only in the ranks of the nobles and among the public functionaries. The mass of the people, the peasants and the merchants, kept their language, their customs, and their attachment to the Greek religion.

Thus the Russian nation has been divided into two parts—an aristocracy, civilized in the European manner, which governs a half-civilized Asiatic race, submissive to that government, but neither understanding it nor loving it. The Russians are laboring to-day with the purpose of blending into one single nation these two superimposed races.

CHAPTER II

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Government by Monopoly.—From the sixteenth century the five European powers which had a marine on the ocean were in possession of colonies. France and England continued to acquire more of them.

All the states then had the same ideas concerning the use of colonies and the manner in which they should be governed. They were not considered simply as unoccupied territory, suitable for the reception of a people who could no longer find anything to live on in the mother country. Europe was then sparsely peopled, having one-third of the population of to-day; most of the countries had not enough inhabitants to cultivate their own soil, of which the greater part had not been touched by the peasant-cultivators; no country had so large a population that any inconvenience was felt on account of numbers. The governments, in taking possession of the lands of the New World, had thought only of the benefits which they might derive from them. The lands most sought for were those in the tropics, which yielded the most valued products—such as spices, sugar, cotton and coffee. The most healthful countries in North America remained unoccupied until the seventeenth century, and no one wanted

anything in Australia. The colonies were the domains of the state, which were exploited for the benefit of the state. The government insisted upon reserving for itself all the profits of these possessions. It then set forth the principle that it alone had the right to take the products of its colonies. The Dutch, masters of the islands of the Straits of Sunda, forbade the Europeans to land there, as they wished to be the only ones to gather the spices; they did not permit the cultivation of the spice-trees, which in some islands could be easily kept under surveillance; forts were constructed to keep off the smugglers, and the governors made tours through the other islands in order to pull up the spice-bushes which had sprouted naturally and without any culture.

In the eighteenth century, when the colonies began to increase in population, the colonists began to export to Europe the products of their own plantations, and in return received from Europe the manufactured articles which they needed for their own use. The government saw in this commerce a new source of revenue; it reserved to itself the right to buy the produce of the colonists and to sell to them manufactured goods. It declared that the commerce of the colony was the property of the state; such is the principle of monopoly.

The Commercial Companies.—The government did not itself exploit its monopoly; it ceded this to private parties who organized companies for that purpose. The model company was the "India Company," founded in Holland in 1602. The Dutch went to Lisbon, during the sixteenth century, in order to secure the productions of the Indies. After the revolt Philip II. forbade them to carry on commerce with Portugal, so the Dutch ships began to go di-

rectly to the ports of the Indies for their commodities. It was a dangerous performance, for the Portuguese treated as pirates the European merchants who navigated the Indian Ocean. Private parties were not rich enough to organize this commerce in an unknown and hostile country; a fleet of armed ships was necessary in order to withstand the Portuguese vessels, and a personnel of agents to keep the traders informed of the conditions and to conclude treaties with the native princes. The private individuals and the cities of Holland, willing to risk money in the enterprise, united their capital. Thus several chambers of commerce were formed; each one bought and equipped its own ships, but all were grouped in a single company, with seven directors named by the government and charged with the care of the common interests; that is to say, to support the fleet and the army and to treat with the princes in the name of the company. The government gave to the company the monopoly of the commerce with the Indies; the company did not admit to its ports any other ships besides its own. The capital was divided into 2,153 shares, valued at 3,000 florins per share. At first the business of the company was not profitable; between the years 1611 and 1634 there were thirteen years out of the twenty-four when the company could pay no dividends to its shareholders. But at last it succeeded in getting the Spice Islands and the commerce of the Indies away from the Portuguese. At that time it had seven governors and one governor-general (at Batavia).

This success induced the other countries to organize similar companies, by giving to them the ownership of the land and the monopoly of the commerce. The King of

England founded the North American Company,[1] which received all the sea-coast from the 41st to the 45th degree, the Massachusetts Bay Company and the Hudson Bay Company. In France the government distributed the commerce of the whole world among the privileged companies—the East India Company (1604), the West India Company and the Saint Christopher and Barbadoes Company (1626), the Isles of America Company, the Cape Verde Company (1639), the Guinea (1634), White Cape (1635), Orient and Madagascar (1642), Northern (1665), Levant (1671), and Senegal (1679) companies. Many companies failed and were reorganized. It has been estimated that down to 1769 fifty-five companies engaged in this monopoly had failed; the greater number were French.

The Portuguese Colonies.—The Portuguese had founded their settlements solely for the purpose of carrying on commerce; they were satisfied to occupy a few ports, and these they fortified. Their warships served at the same time to keep away other ships and to carry back to Lisbon the oriental merchandise, such as spices, calico, silks, porcelain and ivory. Private individuals could not go to the Indies unless authorized to do so by an order from the government; the commerce was not extensive; the Portuguese preferred to sell merchandise at a high price rather than to sell a great deal. The functionaries, appointed only for three years, made haste to get rich, and administered poorly sold justice and prevented individuals from

[1] A royal charter was granted in 1606 to two corporations; the London and Plymouth companies. The London Company was given the right to colonize America between the 34th and 41st degrees of North latitude; and the Plymouth Company between the 38th and 45th degrees.
The Hudson Bay Company was chartered in 1670.—ED.

doing any business. This system brought in little, and cost much, to the companies. An Englishman, who was sent to the Indies in order to establish commercial relations, wrote in 1613: "The Portuguese, notwithstanding their fine residences, have been reduced to beggary in maintaining their soldiers."

The Portuguese colonies on the coast of Africa were penal colonies where criminals were sent, and slave-markets where the trade in negroes was carried on. About 70,000 were sent off every year from the port of Loanda.

The colony of Brazil, one of the most fertile countries in the world, was for a long time scorned by the commercial companies, as it would have been necessary to set to work and cultivate it. The sugar-cane was introduced there by deported convicts and Jews; the mines of the interior were exploited by adventurers who founded the colony of St. Paul without the aid of the government; the Paolistas formed an independent people in the eighteenth century.

The Spanish Colonies.—The Spanish government, which had taken possession of immense territories in America, did not desire to create a new Spain, settled by Spaniards; it only wished to increase the domains of the house of Castile, and to convert the pagan savages to the true faith. The colonies were like a large enclosed estate. In order to go to America a Spaniard had first to obtain a permit from the government. Before a ship was allowed to depart the captain was obliged to swear that there was no one on board who had not a license. In order to obtain this license, a "sufficient motive for departure" must be given; it was necessary to belong to a Catholic family of which no member, for two generations,

had been condemned by the Inquisition; moreover, this permission was often given for two years only.

Only a very few Spaniards were permitted to settle in the colonies; in 1550 there were not more than 15,000 of them living in the colonial settlements. Therefore, Spanish America was inhabited chiefly by natives and negroes. Even to-day the inhabitants of Paraguay and of Upper Peru are all Indians, and three-fourths of the Mexicans are mestizos. The Jesuit missionaries had organized Indian villages, called *réductions* or *parishes*, in California and in Paraguay, which no whites were allowed to approach. The government did not seek to attract farmers or workmen. It had declared itself proprietor of the soil, and had divided the land into vast domains which were distributed to the favorites of the king. The Count Valencianas had lands which were valued at more than 25,000,000 francs and a mine which brought him a revenue of 1,500,000 francs per year. On these domains hardly any one but Indians and negroes were to be found. "The cultivation of the soil is despised," said a traveller in the eighteenth century; "each one wants to live like a gentleman and to lead an idle life." The Spanish all gathered in the towns; they were the proprietors, functionaries, lawyers, speculators, and monks. Many of them were the younger sons of noble families who had come to America to live in a noble manner and without work. It was one of the three careers open to the Spanish noble. The proverb said: "Choose the sea, the church, or the service of the king." At Lima one-third of the whites were of noble birth, and there were forty-five families whose chiefs were either marquis or count. Everything in these colonies was modelled on Spanish customs and

modes of government; they had the entailed estates, the tithes, the Inquisition, the censorship of all printed matter. (The officers of the Inquisition could at any hour enter any house in order to search for prohibited literature.) It was an old society in a new country, and the government intended not to allow it to be changed. It carefully kept away all foreigners; even to the middle of the seventeenth century every foreign ship was treated as a pirate vessel; the sailors who landed were executed, or sent to forced labor in the mines. After the interdict had been lifted the Inquisition continued to repulse all foreigners on the ground of heterodoxy. The government was even suspicious of the whites who were born in America and who are called creoles. It would not allow them to be taught. In a speech to the pupils of the colleges at Lima, the viceroy said: "Learn to read, write, and to say your prayers; that is all that an American ought to know." The government would not allow them to have any part in the administration. All the offices were given to the "old Spaniards." Out of 160 viceroys only four were creoles; out of 369 American bishops until 1673 only twelve were creoles. The government, to prevent the creoles from acting in concert, preserved an inequality between the "people of blue blood" (the whites) and the "people of color" (Indians, negroes, and mestizos).

The state reserved for itself a monopoly of the commerce; the colonists could not sell their commodities except to merchants who were licensed, and they must buy manufactured goods from the licensed traders only. As America had been discovered and occupied in the name of the Queen of Castile, the commerce of America belonged to the crown of Castile and could be carried on only in

Castilian ports. The good ports in Spain were all cities of the kingdom of Aragon; but every ship leaving for America was obliged to visit the port of Seville; it was a very ordinary port, but it belonged to Castile.[1] In 1513 a bureau of commerce was established there; the clerks visited every ship on the eve of its departure, kept a register, and gave a patent, which permitted the vessel to make the voyage. In 1720 the monopoly was transferred to Cadiz. The vessels sailed in fleets and all landed at the same port. There were two fleets a year; one sailed for Vera Cruz, which was the outlet for all the commerce of Mexico, the other (the galleons) for Cartagena and Porto Bello, where all South America and even Buenos Ayres came for their supplies. The admiral of the galleons and the Governor of Panama fixed the price of all the merchandise. The merchants who formed the privileged companies bought the commodities of the colonies at a low price, and sold the manufactured products of Europe, especially iron and steel, at a profit of one hundred to three hundred per cent. The fleet did not suffice as a means of supply for the colonies, nor for the exportation of the produce, and yet the colonists were forbidden to buy from foreigners or to sell to them their commodities. Smuggling was regarded as a heresy, and was punished by the tribunal of the Inquisition. But as they could not live without it, they carried it on extensively, and the foreign ships especially profited by war to come and disembarked their merchandise. The consequence was that the commerce of the Spanish colonies was greatly increased by war. In 1713 the

[1] In the same way, during the period when the King of Spain was also the King of Portugal, the Portuguese of the Moluccas were forbidden to trade with the Philippines.

conquered King of Spain was obliged to sign a treaty of *asiento* with the English government. He gave to the English alone the right of carrying on the trade in slaves in the Spanish colonies, and he gave them permission to send, every year to the fair at Porto Bello, a vessel of 500 tons, laden with English merchandise. This vessel became a veritable mart; it remained before the town, while other English ships went to Jamaica and to Santo Domingo in search of more merchandise, so that its cargo was constantly replenished. The commerce of the galleons, which had amounted to 15,000 tons, fell in 1737 to 2,000 tons.

The Dutch Colonies.—The people of Holland had formed their marine from the fleets that were in the habit of going through the North Sea in search of herring. In the seventeenth century they owned more merchant ships than any other nation in Europe; they went to foreign ports, carrying their wares from one country to another; they were called the carriers of the seas. The Dutch colonies were colonies for commerce alone; they belonged to the great India Company, which had taken them from Portugal.[1]

For its trade in the Indies the company, instructed by the check which the Portuguese system had sustained, adopted an entirely different régime. It demolished the fortresses and settled in the open ports, having neither fortifications nor armies; it entertained amicable relations with the sovereigns of the countries, keeping out of politics, and making no attempt to convert the subjects; it gained the support of the native merchants by purchasing their

[1] The islands of Curaçao and Saint Eustache were used to carry on smuggling with the Spanish colonies. Cape Town was a call-port for vessels going to India. Surinam was a colony of plantations cultivated by slaves.

goods and by selling to them, at a low price, the manufactured merchandise brought from Europe. The principle was to be content with small profits. Thus the company had all the profits of the commerce without any of the expense attendant on occupation. It forbade its employees to trade on their own account, but it payed them well and regularly. Becoming a great power, the company gradually returned to the methods pursued by the other governments. It destroyed almost all the natives of the Moluccas, massacred troops of Chinese in Java (1740), and drove to revolt the King of Lernate, whom it wanted to force to pull up all the clove-plants in his domains. It obliged all ships, returning from the Indies to Holland, to pass around by the Orkneys instead of through the English Channel, and the ships going to the Indies had to stop at Batavia in order to be searched. The clerks began to trade on their own account; they did more business than did the company itself, and burdened its ships with their merchandise. When the King of Holland became director-in-chief of the company (1748) the administrative offices were given to men who did not concern themselves with trade. Finally, the company contracted an enormous debt; in 1794 its liabilities were 127,000,000 florins and the assets 15,000,000 florins only.

The French Colonies.—A French colony was organized like a province. The colonists were not permitted to rule themselves; an *intendant*, all-powerful as in France, decided the most insignificant affairs. The censorship of the press and religious persecution were transported to America; no Protestant was admitted into the colonies, tithes were established for the benefit of the clergy and seigniories for the nobles. The colonists had no more

political and religious liberty than was granted to the subjects of the kingdom. More than that, as the monopoly of the commerce had been given to a licensed company, they were forbidden to erect factories; they were obliged to buy the articles sent out from the Fench manufactories; these were usually inferior goods and were sold at an immense profit. The colonists could trade only with the agents of the company.

Under this régime there were flourishing colonies only in the Antilles, especially in Santo Domingo, where the creoles made the negro slaves do the work. Canada, with its territory as large as the whole of Europe, had in 1682 only 10,000 souls, in 1774 only 54,000, and at the time when it was conquered by the English the inhabitants numbered 70,000 souls; to-day the French-Canadian population amounts to over 2,000,000.

The English Colonies.—England, the last comer among the colonial powers, had only small, scattered colonies along the North American coast. As they produced no valuable commodity the government took little account of them; it did not take the trouble to organize them or govern them. Therefore, the settlement of the colonies was without restraint. In the North the colonists were chiefly the persecuted Puritans who had come to America in the time of Charles I. in order to be free in the exercise of the worship enjoined by their religion. They had built Protestant churches, cultivated the land, and had founded in America a new fatherland which they called New England. These were religious colonies. "If any one among us," they said, "values religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, he has not the soul of a genuine New Englander." In the South the country had been occupied

by planters who lived like country gentlemen in the midst of their negro slaves.

There were thirteen colonies, each with a distinct government of its own. They were divided into three kinds. The proprietary colonies belonged to one or to several private individuals who had received them as a donation from the government; in granting the concession the state gave up meddling in the affairs of the colony; the eight proprietors of the Carolinas, for example, had the right to appoint all the officials, to levy the taxes providing they had the consent of the colonists, to make war, and to create a nobility. The chartered colonies belonged to a privileged company, the crown colonies belonged to the government. But everywhere the colonists had preserved the rights of Englishmen; they ruled themselves, voted their taxes, regulated their religious affairs, and could be tried only by a jury. The English government did not concern itself with their affairs, save in the appointment of governors. The cultivation of the land was open to all. Unoccupied lands were sold to any one who would cultivate them; the family of Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, sold yearly lands to the amount of 30,000 pounds sterling. Thus was formed a population of small English proprietors. Until the middle of the seventeenth century the colonists had been free to trade with the foreign merchants; there was an extensive commerce especially with Holland; but the Long Parliament, to oblige the English to create a marine service, decided, through the Navigation Act of 1651, that henceforth no merchandise could be brought into an English port save in an English vessel, equipped by an English shipowner, commanded by an English captain, and at least three-fourths

manned by English sailors. Thus the monopoly of commerce in the English colonies was given to Englishmen.

India.—India, in the eighteenth century, was more thickly settled than Europe, but it did not form a nation, and the inhabitants had been for many centuries ruled by foreign conquerors. The last dominion, founded in the sixteenth century, had been that of a Tartar prince, established at Delhi. This prince, the Grand Mogul, had, in the seventeenth century, united all India in a single empire. In the eighteenth century this empire had already been destroyed; there remained no other power in the country except that of the governors, who had become sovereigns, and of the chiefs of bands who, with their mercenaries, were making war on each other.

The two governments, France and England, had each formed an East India Company for the purpose of carrying on a privileged commerce. The two companies, French and English, were organized in the same way; each owned some towns on the coast which were defended by forts, and which were provided with warehouses. They maintained in these towns an army of commercial employees, some soldiers, and a governor. These companies were in themselves petty powers. In the eighteenth century it was necessary for them to defend their establishments, to take part in the wars which they carried on with the petty sovereigns of the country. It was soon evident that a small army, organized and disciplined in the European fashion, could defeat a large native army, and that an excellent European army could be formed with the Hindoo soldiers. Regiments of "sepoys" were formed from the bands of native mercenaries. These were commanded by European officers, and armed in the Euro-

pean manner. This idea originated with Dupleix, the director of the French company. The English company welcomed the idea and profited by it.

Struggle Between France and England.—At the beginning of the eighteenth century the two great powers of Europe, France and England, found themselves engaged in a struggle which was to continue for more than a century. In 1688 William of Orange, becoming King of England, had put himself at the head of a coalition of the states of Europe in order to put a stop to the conquests of Louis XIV. From that moment England had remained the principal adversary of France, and in all the great wars where France was engaged, she found England ranged among her enemies. Before the Revolution there were five wars between the two rival powers: I. The League of Augsburg (1689–1697); 2. Spanish Succession (1702–1713);[1] 3. Austrian Succession (1740–1748); 4. Seven Years' War (1756–1763); 5. War of American Independence (1776–1783).

The first four were chiefly continental wars, when England intervened as an ally of the enemies of France (of Austria in the first three, and of Russia in the Seven Years' War). But the war extended beyond the continent; each of the rivals sought to destroy the ships and conquer the colonies belonging to the other.

These maritime and colonial wars, were to have consequences of which no one at that time had even dreamed. When the contest began, France had the advantage. The navy was in 1677 composed of 300 ships, not including the corsairs of Dunkirk and St. Malo, which in time

[1] During the first half of the reign of Louis XV. the regent, and afterward Cardinal Fleury, held the policy of maintaining peace with England.

of war made it their business to capture the English merchantmen. (During the war of the League of Augsburg, the English lost, in this way, at least 4,200 vessels; their maritime insurance companies were ruined.)

France had taken the lead also in the colonies. In the time of Henry IV., Canada and the adjacent regions of Newfoundland, Acadia and Hudson Bay, had been occupied. France had just taken possession of the country about the mouth of the Mississippi (Louisiana), and had just established through the Ohio valley a chain of forts which bound Canada to Louisiana, that is to say, the basin of the St. Lawrence with the basin of the Mississippi. So she was mistress of nearly all of North America. In the Antilles she owned not only Martinique and Guadeloupe, but many other islands which have been taken from her—Saint Lucia, Dominica, and Tabago. She had acquired the western part of the large island of Santo Domingo, Hayti, and had begun to grow large plantations of sugar-cane. She owned, besides, French Guiana and Senegal. She had tried to rule the great Island of Madagascar. The establishments created by Colbert did not last, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century the two neighboring islands, Reunion and the Isle of France became flourishing French colonies. In Asia the East India Company had establishments in many cities. Thus France became possessed of immense territories, somewhat like deserts, it is true, but which, one day, would have been populated and would form to-day a vast French colonial empire. England, at the same epoch, had only her colonies on the eastern coast of North America, bounded on the west by the French possessions along the Ohio, the island of Jamaica in the Antilles, and

the general factories of Bombay and Madras in the East Indies. Nothing then indicated that England was to become a great maritime and colonial power. England was not at that time the country of commerce and industry which we know to-day, and its marine service was not superior to that of France.

The wars of the eighteenth century reversed matters and gave to England maritime and colonial supremacy. By the Peace of Utrecht (1713), France, completely ruined by her defeats on the continent, and being incapable of maintaining a war-fleet, had ceded Acadia, Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay to England. She still retained the best part of her possessions. The French company began the conquest of India, the war-fleet was reorganized and made a glorious struggle against the English fleet (1740–1748), when the war again began (1756). The statesmen of neither country had taken into account the importance which a colonial empire might have for their governments. At that time the colonies were hardly considered more than domains where one could raise coffee, indigo, and sugar-cane; the Antilles were esteemed of the greatest value. The immense territories of North America were looked upon as useless possessions, the government did not care to see its subjects emigrate to these colonies, it preferred to keep them at home; no one then believed that it would be of any advantage to France to have millions of French on the other side of the ocean. D'Argenson, one of the ministers of Louis XV., said that if he were king of France, he would give all the colonies for the head of a pin, and Voltaire thought it was absurd for the French and English to go to war "over a few arpents of snow"—it was thus that he called the country of the Ohio.

England had at this time a minister, William Pitt, who foresaw the importance of these colonies, then so despised. He wished England to become the first maritime power of the world, so that the English ships alone should carry on commerce. English industry had begun to be established and it had need of an outlet; the great commercial interests of England sustained Pitt and induced the House to vote the enormous sums which were needed to crush out the marine and conquer the colonies of France. The French fleet was destroyed; the Minister of Marine declared that the vessels which had escaped were not sufficient to oppose the English, and he sold them to private individuals. The English fleet was mistress of the seas, and could take possession of the French Antilles, which were left defenseless.

In North America the French woodsmen of Canada formed an alliance with the Indians, and at first repulsed the English colonists who were much more numerous. But the English received reënforcements from their government, while the French minister abandoned the Canadians, who succumbed to overwhelming numbers. In the Indies the director of the French company, Dupleix, had acquired some provinces; the company allowed itself to be persuaded to abandon them and to recall Dupleix to France; it was a commercial company which cared for nothing but to realize a profit on investments; the government only intervened to decide against Dupleix (1754). Four years later the English company began the conquest of Bengal and attacked the possessions of the French company. The government tried to defend them but had an insufficient force. By the treaty of Paris, 1763, France ceded to England Canada and several islands of

the Antilles, to Spain the territory of Louisiana, and promised to cease the maintenance of an army in India; this was to give up the possession of a colonial empire.

The English Colonial Empire.—England succeeded France in America and in India. She was mistress of all North America as far south as Mexico, and she continued the conquest of India. The shareholders of the French company had wanted that it should only be concerned in commercial affairs, and had brought about the recall of Dupleix, whom they reproached for having engaged the company in costly wars. The English company left their employees free to act, and Clive, in a single battle, conquered the whole kingdom of Bengal.

The employees, having by a single act, become masters of a country containing 60,000,000 souls, ruled it like tyrants, despoiling the inhabitants, and making enormous fortunes; then they returned to England displaying all the luxurious splendor of an oriental sovereign; they were called "Nabobs." The scandal was such that when the time came for the renewal of the privileges of the company, which privileges were granted for twenty years, the English government reserved to itself the power of naming the governor-general; it left to the company only the monopoly of the commerce. The governors-general continued the conquest in the name of the company, which finally, in the nineteenth century, became the sole sovereign of India. It seems marvellous, at the first glance, that a country of 200,000,000 souls should permit itself to be conquered by a company of foreign merchants. But in reality India was not a nation; it was only an assemblage of peoples; some were Brahmins, others Moslems. There was nothing to bind them together, neither race, nor

religion, nor government, and they had no reason for acting in concert. The mass of the population was formed of peaceable tillers of the soil, who were accustomed to see themselves oppressed by foreigners. There was no nation but only an unorganized body of sovereign princes. The India Company was only one sovereign fighting against other sovereigns. It conquered them all, because it alone had a regular army at its disposal.

Revolt of the English Colonies in America.—The conquest of Canada changed the situation for the thirteen English colonies in America; thenceforth they no longer needed to fear an attack on the part of France, and they no longer needed the help of England for their defence. The colonists ceased to feel that they were protected by the English government, and they began to complain that they were oppressed. The English Parliament regulated the commerce of the colonies. It decided the amount of the customs duty which each kind of merchandise had to pay. It prohibited commerce in certain kinds of merchandise, both exports and imports. The colonists had never protested against this right of the Parliament, but England had never demanded that the colonists should pay any taxes. The English government, burdened with a heavy debt contracted during the war, thought that it was legitimate to ask the colonists to contribute, in a small measure, to the expenses of England. The colonists protested, pleading the old English custom, that no one is bound to pay a tax unless the tax has been voted for by the proper representatives.[1] Now the colonies did not send representatives to the English Parliament. Parliament took

[1] By *proper representation*, the colonists meant representation in their own assemblies.—Ed.

no notice of the protest and voted a light impost in the form of a stamp-tax (1764). The colonists prevented the sale of stamped paper, by maltreating whoever dared to take it upon himself so to dispose of it, and by breaking to pieces the boxes of stamps; the English government had no officials in the colonies, and could not protect the collectors of the impost; if an American was brought to justice, the jury acquitted him. Parliament removed the tax.[1]

In 1767 the government again fixed a tax, but under the form of customs-duty, to be paid on several articles of merchandise (glassware, leather, paper, tea) brought into America. The colonists again began to send in petitions and to threaten the customs-officers; they agreed among themselves not to buy any English merchandise, and in that way they would punish the English. The colonists in the North (New England) were the most excited; in Boston smugg.ing was carried on openly, a cargo of Madeira wines, entered through fraud, was transported through the streets with an escort of armed men. The government tried to station regiments of soldiers in America. When the arrival of a garrison was made known in Boston, the inhabitants held a meeting where they resolved that no army should remain in the colony without their consent. When the garrison had gone into quarters, the soldiers could not go out into the streets without being maltreated. The government yielded, withdrew the duty, but allowed the tax on tea to

[1] This action was taken chiefly because of the influence of the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York, October 7, 1765. Delegates from nine of the colonies were present. A petition was sent to the British government to withdraw the Stamp Act, and a formal statement of their rights was prepared. The Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766.—Ed.

remain in order to support the principle involved in its action (1770). The colonies resumed their relations with England. But the colonists had grown accustomed to violent measures. A vessel, which was patrolling the coast of Rhode Island, having foundered, was boarded by a band of men who had embarked in eight small boats. The captain was wounded and the vessel was burned, and although the leaders of the expedition were known, no one was willing to bear witness against them (1772). Some time afterward the East India Company sent three ships laden with tea to Boston. A body of men, disguised as Indians, seized the ships and threw 342 cases of tea into the waters of the bay.

The English, irritated by this insult, took measures against the rebellious colony; Parliament declared the port of Boston closed, and changed the constitution of the colony. The other colonies sided with Boston, contributed money, and sent wheat and rice to the people. Then the assemblies of the colonies ordered a levy of troops, to resist the English soldiers, and they sent delegates to Philadelphia[1] for the purpose of coming to some agreement on the means to be employed in organizing armed resistance to the movements of England.

Independence of the Colonies.—The American colonists had been gradually brought to the employment of resistance through the use of force by the English government (the first combat took place in 1775). However, it was not yet a question of revolt; they wanted to intimidate the

[1] The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.
The Second Continental Congress met also in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. It made itself a national government. Voted to raise a continental army, ordered a state of defence, and authorized bills of credit. —Ed.

English and force them to yield; but they did not desire to be separated from England. The traders had an interest in the preservation of their position as Englishmen, which permitted them to do business with all the English colonies. The planters in the colonies of the South, the well-to-do people in the centre and in the North—all the rich classes were attached to the king and looked with horror upon a separation. But a new party was formed in New England.[1] This party was composed chiefly of the common people, was led by lawyers, and wished to go to war, and to establish *a republic*. This party was in the minority but it acted with vigor. Bodies of men began to go through the country, expelling the judges and maltreating the partisans of England who were called Tories. As they were the party of the king, a judge or a customs-officer was given a coat of tar and feathers (following the American custom). Thus a new régime was established in the greater part of the colonies.

The congress of delegates assembled at Philadelphia was divided into two almost equal parties. The delegates from the North wished to declare their independence and to separate definitively from England; they said that never would a similar opportunity be found, for there still remained many colonists who had been in the war against Canada and who would help to form an army. The delegates from the South and from the centre did not desire a republic.[2] The republican party succeeded in changing the governments of the resisting

[1] It was organized in different sections of the country. Samuel Adams was a leader in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia.—Ed.

[2] It is not correct to say that there was a contrast between the views of the delegates from the different sections. Richard Henry Lee, following the instructions from Virginia, the colony he represented, introduced the resolution for independence.—Ed.

colonies. Then a majority was formed for the declaration of 1776, which had been drawn up by Jefferson. In this declaration, Congress, relying on inherent right, enumerates the acts wherein the King of England had violated the rights of the Americans and resolves that in consequence the colonies should be "free and independent States."

The war between England and her colonies was long and doubtful as to the result. Parliament had voted funds for an army of 50,000 men; but the English government had almost no soldiers; volunteers were enrolled, troops were purchased from the German princes, and Indians were employed. Two years were needed to gather an army ready for action, and how could they act in a country where they must cross an immense uninhabited territory without roads, without provisions, and drawing all their supplies from England? For a long time the English generals were satisfied to occupy the towns along the coast; one army, which tried to plunge into the interior, was starved, harassed, and reduced to such exhaustion that it capitulated.

The government of the Congress was still more feeble. It had no legal authority, could neither levy troops nor taxes; the assembly of each colony levied and paid its own militia, and often refused to place it at the service of Congress. It had no other resources than to confiscate the property of the Tories, and to issue the paper money, which it had created. This paper was continually diminishing in value; in 1778 it was already worth only one-eighth of its nominal value, in 1780 only one-fiftieth. In 1777 the army of the Congress was reduced to 1,500 men; the others had deserted, taking their arms with them. Congress voted a levy of 65,000 men; only 15,000

could be brought together. They lacked everything; many had no shoes and were forced to go bare-footed. The line of march could be traced by blood. In September they were two days without any food; in December, having no coverings, the soldiers were obliged to pass the night around the fires which they had built. The officers resigned, those who were away on leave refused to return. Washington, the General-in-Chief, wrote to the Congress: "One may speak of patriotism, one may draw from ancient history examples of grand deeds accomplished under the dominion of that sentiment, but one will find himself deceived if he relies on that to conduct a long and bloody war. . . . I know that patriotism exists, and that it has done much in the present contest, but I venture to declare that a war of some duration cannot be carried on upon this principle alone."

The Americans were powerless to defend themselves against an army well organized and provisioned. It was France who came to the aid of the insurgents, sent them money, arms, a corps of troops, put them into a condition so that they could continue their resistance, and helped them to defend their country. France had no direct interest in this war; the wisest of her ministers, Turgot and Malesherbes, wanted to avoid intervention in the contest. But Congress had sent to Paris a clever commissioner, Franklin, celebrated for his invention of the lightning-rod, who knew how to win public opinion. The Minister Vergennes, who had the confidence of Louis XVI., saw in this war a means of weakening the power of the English, and France took sides with the Americans.

England had then to fight France and her ally Spain; she was obliged to put 300,000 men under arms, and to

guard against an invasion of Ireland by the French troops. The majority in Parliament were seized with a disgust of the war, and obliged the king to make peace. England recognized the independence of the United States (1783). France, who had carried the principal burden of the war, demanded nothing for herself. The French commissioners would have liked a guarantee for the property and the liberty of the Americans, who had supported the English government and had taken refuge in the English army. Congress was content to recommend them to the government of each colony, but made no effort to protect them. The republicans refused to receive them, and would not return to them the property which had been confiscated. They maltreated those who had remained in the country and forced them to emigrate. American society was transformed by these confiscations and emigrations. The rich and the families in easy circumstances almost disappeared from New England. At the head of society were the partisans of the new régime.

The war having come to an end, each colony resumed its complete independence and governed itself as a sovereign state. Congress had no longer any authority. Decrees were made but no one obeyed them. It seemed as if the confederation were about to be dissolved. The officers who wanted to preserve the union which had been created for the common defence, offered to make Washington dictator, but he refused. Finally the partisans of union succeeded in making the colonies understand that it was necessary to remain united in order to protect their commercial interests, and in 1787[1] the government of the

[1] The Constitution was adopted by the requisite number of states in 1788, and the new government went into force in 1789.—Ed.

United States of America was formed. Each state preserved its "sovereignty, liberty and independence," its administration and its independent tribunals.[1] The Congress, composed of representatives from all the states, was charged with the care of the army and navy, with the relations with foreign lands, and with the direction of commerce and the postal service.

[1] The states were no longer completely sovereign and independent. —Ed.

Things denied to colonists which led to the War:
1 Representations
2 Trial by Jury
3. Freedom from Search
4. Quartering of troops in time of peace.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE NEW IDEAS

Industry and Commerce in the Seventeenth Century.— In the Middle Ages no one could labor except on condition of being admitted into one of the corporations authorized by the seignior; no one could make anything unless he followed the rules laid down by the seignior. The absolute monarchies had preserved the corporations and the regulations for trade and manufacture. Throughout all Europe it was admitted that the state had the right to regulate all manufactures. A private individual did not have the right to create any industry. To manufacture was the privilege of the masters of the trades, established in the towns. One could, under penalty of imprisonment, neither set up a factory in the country nor even open a new work-shop in a town. Even those who had the privilege of working could not do so freely; they had to manufacture according to the old processes and to the prescribed measures. The statesmen were accustomed to say that the industrials needed the guidance of the government. In France Colbert had drawn up an industrial regulation which prescribed what kind of a plane should

be used, and what width every piece of cloth must measure. Inspectors watched over the manufactures; every product, not conforming to the regulation, was confiscated and often burned. The government took charge of the introduction of new industries. It created certain industries whose superintendent and workmen were paid by the state. (Of this nature was the Gobelins and the lace-factories established by Colbert). It was also a principle in Europe that the state should regulate the commerce of the country. Private individuals did not have the right to transport their commodities, to sell or to buy, except by permission from the state and according to its regulations. The French government prohibited the export of the grains of the kingdom; it even prohibited them from being carried from one province to another, or from being stored for future use. This was because it was concerned in avoiding a famine and because it was afraid of the monopolists who were accused of concealing grain in order to raise the prices. Usually the result of this interdict was that the province where the harvest was a failure suffered from want because grain could not be brought in freely; while in the province where the harvest was abundant, the peasants had grain to spare because they did not know to whom they could sell it.

In the matter of taxes there was no general principle. Each state sought to establish the taxes which would bring in the most money without asking whether there was any risk of impoverishing the country. Almost everywhere taxes were very unequally established; the nobles were almost entirely exempt because the government was interested in sparing them, while the peasants were almost crushed by the burden.

The Mercantile System.—Commerce with foreign lands was regulated by the principles which were laid down in the fifteenth century by the statesmen of Venice and of Florence. "Every state," they then said, "is the commercial rival of every other state; commerce is a war." "Each state ought to labor in the effort to increase its wealth at the expense of the others. Now wealth consists especially of gold and silver, for he who has money can procure everything else. The rule, then, is to bring the most money possible into a country and to take out the least possible amount of it. For that it is necessary to export (that is to say, we must sell to the foreigner) much merchandise, in exchange for which money is received, and to import as little as possible, so that one need not spend his money. Governments are like commercial houses, each one is enriched by selling much and buying little. At the end of the year a comparison of the exports and imports is made, this is what is called "the balance of trade." (It is supposed that each state is like a banking-house which at the end of the year makes a comparison of its profit and loss, the balance-sheet.) When a state has exported more than it has imported it has realized a profit in money and the "balance of trade" is in its favor; if it has imported more, it has lost money and the "balance of trade" is against it. It is, therefore, a question of increasing exportation which enriches, and of diminishing importation which impoverishes, especially the importation of manufactured articles. Each government should take measures to prevent the sale, in its state, of the products of these manufactories and replace foreign goods with wares manufactured in the country. For this purpose two procedures are employed. The most radical is to prohibit

the merchants from introducing certain articles manufactured abroad. Colbert forbade the sale of Venetian laces in France. The French could only buy laces which were made in the French manufactories; this is the prohibitory system. Or the country may limit itself to exacting the payment on all foreign wares on their entry of a customs-duty,[1] which obliges the traders to raise the price of the articles. The same articles when manufactured in the country, not having to pay the tax, may compete advantageously with the wares brought from another country. The duties levied at the frontier by the government, serve at one and the same time for a revenue to aid the state and for a protection to aid the industrial class; such is the protective system.

In the seventeenth century all the states of Europe had taken measures for prohibition or for protection. The Navigation Act of 1651 was an application to the English marine of the prohibitory system. It forbade trade with England or with any English colony, save by English ships, owned by English merchants and commanded by an English captain. Colbert had organized protection in France. "The customs-duties," said he, "are the crutches, by the aid of which trade learns how to move, and which it rejects when it has become strong enough to move alone." This régime was called the mercantile system.[2] Its purpose was to encourage commerce and to make

[1] Tax on foreign merchandise had existed as early as the twelfth century in the Levant. The office charged with assessing this tax was already called the "douane" (from an Arab word). But the tax was only a means of procuring money. Later came the idea of employing it to protect industries.

[2] Properly speaking, there has never been either a general theory or a general application of this régime. It was agreed that the maxims and the methods of the statesmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be collected under the name of mercantilism.

money flow into the country. It suited the Italian towns, which could not grow rich except by manufacturing and exporting the products, and which had to defend their commerce from the inroads of hostile cities. It had its place in the fifteenth century, when money was rare and much sought after. But it no longer applied to the great states and at an epoch when the discovery of America had made gold and silver abundant.

The Economists.—People had begun in the seventeenth century to study theoretically the means of augmenting the wealth of a country and a state. This study was called potitical economy,[1] that is to say, the science of the domestic enconomy of the state. The economists were searching for a way to regulate industry and commerce in order to render them more productive and for a tax that would be of most benefit to the state with the least embarrassment to the individual. There have been three generations of economists. The greater number were Frenchmen:

1. At the close of the reign of Louis XIV., Boisguillebert in two works, the "Détail de la France" (1697) and the "Factum de la France" (1707), and Vauban, in the "Dîme royale" (1707), pointed out the impoverishment of France. They showed by statistics that the population had diminished and that the government, in spite of rigorous measures, could not longer succeed in collecting the taxes. The default was owing to the system of the villein tax. This tax was fixed arbitrarily by the intendants and their appointees; the rich found a way of exemption for their domains, and for those of their tenants; the lands of the nobles were exempt by law. The

[1] This word was first employed by Monchrétien in 1615.

small proprietors alone remained to sustain the whole burden; often the tax took one-third of the product of the harvest (without counting the tithes due to the clergy and the rents due to the seigniors). The country was depopulated and the lands remained uncultivated, for the peasants did not care to work. Vauban and Boisguillebert proposed to remedy the evil by establishing an equitable tax which would be levied without distinction on all lands. Their books were condemned and burned by the executioner (1707). But they began to make people think that the system of taxes in France was in need of reform.

2. Toward the middle of the reign of Louis XV. the king's physician, Quesnay, published the "Tableau économique." Louis XV. was interested in it and, it is said, even corrected the proof. Political economy became the fashion and a group of disciples gathered around Quesnay. They were seigniors like Mirabeau, or high officials like the intendant Gournay. Their principle was that God has set natural laws, which regulate the production of wealth; these laws are perfect; every law, in these matters that is made by man, is of less value than the natural law. The best rule, then, is to let things follow their natural course. They called their doctrine *physiocracy* (domination of nature). The physiocrats also asked themselves whence comes wealth, which led them to lay down a theory of production.

Gold and silver, they say, are not wealth. They are only signs of it. Real wealth is found in useful objects. Quesnay only considered as riches the products of the land; land is the unique source of wealth; the other economists added all the products of industry. All agreed in

their disapproval of the measures taken by the state. The laws, instead of aiding industry and commerce, they said, only serve as a hindrance to production and to commerce. It would be better for the government to leave the manufacturers and the merchants perfectly free, without trying to protect or to domineer over them, for they were interested in producing the greatest quantity possible at the cheapest rate possible, and they knew better than the ministers wherein lay their interest. One day Colbert asked a manufacturer what he could do for the wealth of the country. "Monseigneur," was the reply, "do not interfere, pay no attention! (*laissez faire*)." This expression, taken up by Gournay, was the motto of the economists. They demanded complete liberty for the producer and for the trader; they said that all corporations and laws which encroach upon industry must be suppressed and every one must be left free to manufacture. All monopolies and prohibitory laws which embarrass commerce must also be suppressed, and every one must be free to sell and buy. This liberty will produce a free competition among the manufacturers and merchants of all countries for the greatest good of industry and of commerce, as the manufacturer will be obliged to fabricate better products, and the merchant will be obliged to sell cheaper than the competitors. Thus all, to their own interest, will labor to improve the products and to lower the price for the advantage of the consumer. The physiocrats said, also, that the state was ruining the agriculture of the country by forcing the peasants to pay all the taxes; they demanded that all proprietors, without distinction, should bear their share of the taxes, and that indirect taxes and duties should be abolished. Some

even said that the land was the only source of wealth and proposed to establish a single tax, to be paid entirely by the landowners.

3. The most celebrated economists of the eighteenth century are the last two who appeared at that time: Turgot, a Frenchman, and Adam Smith, a Scotchman. They made a more careful study of economic facts than their predecessors had done. Turgot showed in what way paper-money differs from silver, how the division of labor serves to increase wealth, and what are the relations of wages and capital. Adam Smith united all the scattered theories into a very clearly written book, the "Wealth of Nations" (1776), which made the public understand the importance of the new science; he showed that land is not the only source of wealth, and explained how industry creates wealth in the transformation of raw materials.

We are not able to-day to affirm that the economists were wholly in the right. It is not certain that individuals left to themselves would always know what is to their advantage, and that they would always do it even if they did know it. A manufacturer or a merchant, already rich, might, either through ignorance or through idleness, often allow opportunities to escape which would have enabled him to perfect his wares, or to extend his commerce. More than that, the economists hardly considered the interests of patrons and consumers, and free competition may not always be the best system for the workmen. It may be that good laws tend to cheaper production and to a more equitable division of wealth than the absence of laws, absolute liberty, could do. But the economists were right in their opposition to the governments of their time; no laws are better than bad laws.

The English Philosophers.—In Europe, during the seventeenth century, there had been some illustrious philosophers—Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibnitz. They were occupied chiefly in the study of mankind in general (what we call psychology), and they were trying to comprehend the general laws of the universe (what we call metaphysics). They purposely abstained from giving out any ideas concerning politics, saying that the affairs of the government concerned those who were charged with governing.

In the eighteenth century several talented writers appeared in France who gave themselves the name of philosophers, and called their doctrine philosophy. Concerning those great questions, which had until that time occupied the philosophers, these writers brought forward no new ideas. They were chiefly interested in practical questions. They studied the beliefs and the institutions of their times, and when these beliefs and institutions seemed to them to be contrary to reason, they sought to bring them into discredit by attacking them in their writings. They were rather publicists than philosophers.

At that time, in all the countries of Europe, society rested on the same foundation: the absolute authority of the state and the absolute authority of the church. People were accustomed to obey their sovereign. The king, it was said, had received his power from God; he had the right to command, and it was the duty of his subjects to obey him; there was no limit to the right of the king, his authority was absolute. In practice, the king and his ministers, knowing that no one had the means of resistance, governed without taking into account the desires of their subjects or even the interests of the country;

they went to war purely through ambition; they spent the money of the country in the support of a luxurious court; they imposed odious laws, and they ordered to prison any one who ventured to criticise their actions. No book could be published without the permission of the government; any inhabitant could be arrested and kept in prison when it so pleased the ministers. There was neither control of the government nor individual liberty; such a régime is called a despotism.

In the same manner all believers had to obey the church. This was true in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic countries. The clergy had the right to decide upon the dogmas which one must believe, and the ceremonies which one must observe. It was the duty of believers to be submissive in regard to these dogmas and ceremonies; whoever abstained from the religious rites of the church was prosecuted as a rebel. Not more than one religion was permitted in a country, and all the inhabitants were constrained to practise the religion of the state, to be present at the service on Sunday, to commune, to fast on the fixed days; to be married, to be buried, and to have their children baptized by the church; and in the Catholic countries they had to confess and to abstain from meats. This was the régime of intolerance. The state and the church lent each other mutual assistance; the government persecuted the heretics, forced its subjects into submission to the church; the clergy made obedience to the king a religious duty. The two absolute authorities were united for the purpose of dominion.

In the seventeenth century this system had been greatly disturbed in England. Church and state, by making war, had mutually enfeebled each other. The revolu-

tion of 1688 had destroyed the despotism of the king and had established tolerance in religion. Beside the authority of the king arose the authority of Parliament; beside the officially recognized church dissenting churches were formed. The partisans of parliamentary power and the partisans of the separated churches were united in order to maintain the constitutional monarchy and toleration in religion. It was evident, then, that the king could lose his absolute authority over his subjects, and the church its absolute authority over believers, without causing the destruction of society. This experience gave a mortal blow to the theory of the divine right of kings and the unity of religion. England had acquired political liberty and religious tolerance. There were soon English philosophers who were ready to justify, by theory, what had just been established in practice. The most eminent were Locke, author of "Letters on Tolerance," Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke.

The Christian religion, they said, should be conformable to reason, since reason has been given to us by God, in order that we may find out the truth; the questions over which the different Christian sects are disputing, are really of minor importance; the essential point is the doctrine which is common to all religions. This residuum of Christianity formed the natural religion; thus they arrived at two fundamental ideas: There is a God who governs the world. Man has an immortal soul.

The English philosophers believed that man has received from God sufficient reason to be able to perceive the fundamental truths and a faculty which enables him to distinguish between good and evil (the moral sense); man is naturally reasonable and virtuous,

for he is the work of God, and all that God has made is well made.

The English, used to respect the established custom, did not ask for the suppression of the state or church; they agreed that there must be a privileged church, paid and sustained by the government; but they wanted tolerance for all the other religious beliefs, that is, the right to practise publicly without danger of persecution. They excluded from this right the faiths which were regarded as dangerous; among the number were atheism and Catholicism. So their tolerance did not rest on respect for liberty of conscience; in fact, they as yet only admitted the right of professing certain beliefs; if they were really more tolerant, it was because their religion had grown broader. Natural religion took for them the place of the Anglican religion.

An analogous change in doctrines took place in politics. The revolution of 1688 had established a king in England who held power only by the will of the nation, expressed through the Parliament. The philosophers invented a new theory to explain the relations of king and subject. Locke set forth the theory of contract, "The government," said he, "has been formed through a contract between the citizens constituting the nation; they have made a covenant, with each other, for their common advantage." Locke admits that men have naturally, before entering into society, sufficient moral strength to serve as a guide for their conduct, and that they possess natural rights—the rights of man. These are individual liberty, the rights of the father of a family, the rights of the proprietor. All these rights are sacred since they rest upon natural religion. It is for the purpose of guaranteeing these rights

to each other that men have created governments. The government should protect these natural rights. It is on that condition only that it is obeyed. If it tries to violate these rights, it loses the reason for its existence, the contract, to which its power is due, is broken, and every citizen has the right to resist. The authority of the state is then no longer absolute (as in the theory of divine right); it is limited by the natural rights of the citizens. As the right of property is absolute, the sovereign has not even the right to levy an impost that is to take from the citizens a part of their possessions. When he has need of money for the public good he must ask for it of the citizens directly, or through their representatives. He can then govern only in accordance with the will of the representatives of the nation, who watch over his movements and prevent him from exercising absolute power.

Bolingbroke, while developing this idea, said that every unique power had a tendency toward absolutism; the only means of preventing the different powers from tyrannizing over a nation was to maintain a balance between them so that there should be a perfect equilibrium.

Thus came into existence, in England, the theory of political liberty. It is no more founded upon a general principle than is religious tolerance. The English philosophers did not demand that every citizen should have the same rights; they admitted the hereditary right of the king and of the nobles to exercise the power of government. All that they demanded was that the government should not go beyond certain limits and should not trespass on the *private liberty* of the citizen.

The French Philosophers.—France had remained, under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., submissive to an intolerant

church and to an absolute monarchy. It had no cognizance of religious tolerance nor of political liberty. But the people had grown weary of that régime, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was formed, especially in the cultivated classes, a spirit of opposition to the church and to the monarchy. From the end of the reign of Louis XIV. there were in Paris, and at the court, many free thinkers (as they called themselves) who, without openly attacking religion, professed indifference to it; there were also political malcontents who complained of the government and of the king.

Under Louis XV. the malcontents made acquaintance with the new doctrines originating in England; and as they could not be openly professed without exposing their advocate to prosecution, the French writers began by slipping them into romances, stories, tales of travel, where they were made to appear under fictitious names. Gradually they proceeded to the development of their theories and drew from them new conclusions; they ended by laying down much more general principles, and by demanding much more extensive reforms than were ever dreamed of by their English predecessors.

In this manner two generations of philosophers were produced in France: one in the first half of the eighteenth century, composed of Montesquieu and Voltaire, the other belonging to the second half of the century, and whose representatives are Rousseau, Diderot, and the encyclopædists. Montesquieu and Voltaire were men of the better class. Montesquieu was a noble and rich, he occupied the office of President of the Parlement of Bordeaux and was a member of the Academy; Voltaire was the son of a Parisian notary, he had been educated by the Jesuits, and

was later rich enough to buy the château of Ferney. Both men accepted the society in which they lived, not desiring to overthrow it, but only demanding reforms. Both had been direct disciples of the English. Voltaire, obliged to leave France as the result of a quarrel with a great seignior, passed three years in England, learned English, visited the English lords, dedicated his "Henriade" to the queen, and related his observations in his "Lettres Philosophiques" (1731). He had conceived an admiration for the English constitution and especially for tolerance in religion. During his long career he threw into his stories, his poems, his pamphlets, his histories, his philosophical dictionary many observations and criticisms on politics and on religion.

In general, he was little interested in questions of government; he was content with absolute sovereigns, provided the prince would be a disciple of the philosophers. "It is not a question," said he, "of getting up a revolution as in the time of Luther, but of causing one in the minds of those who are called to govern." He only attacked the customs opposed to humanity—the torture, cruel punishments, and confiscation of property; he was most occupied with the struggle for tolerance in religion.

Voltaire was opposed to all the positive religions, he accepted only natural religion (a belief in God and the immortality of the soul). He passed his life in writing against intolerance in all its forms—persecutions, the Inquisition, religious wars; he wanted their privileges taken away from the clergy. He became more and more violent; at the end of his life he was, before everything, an enemy of the Christian religion, he sought to turn it into ridicule by comparing it with the other religions; he had taken for

a device: "Crush out the infamy." The infamy was the Christian religion.

He did not wish to suppress all religion (he considered that religion was necessary in order to maintain in the people an obedience to the law), but he wanted a religion without dogma, without mystery, without symbols; in which the clergy would be confined to the preaching of morals.

His disciples, the Voltairians, have had hardly any political doctrines, but they have continued to attack religion in the name of reason and of humanity.

Montesquieu, on the contrary, troubled himself very little about religion, although his enemies have accused him of being a "votary of natural religion." He only demanded tolerance. He was chiefly a political writer. After his first work, the "Lettres Persanes," he had travelled in many of the European countries, and had been much impressed by the institutions of England. In his "Esprit des Lois," he described the English constitution in such a way as to present it as a type of good government.[1]

The purpose of the state is to maintain the liberty of the people; and the surest means is to divide the power between a sovereign and an assembly of hereditary lords, and an assembly of representatives chosen by the landed proprietors.

It was he who formulated the celebrated theory of the partition of power; "The surest means of having a well-governed state," said he, "is to have three separate governing powers—legislative, judiciary and executive." Montesquieu was the chief of the liberal parliamentary school.

[1] Since the English constitution of the eighteenth century has been studied, it is acknowledged that Montesquieu gave an inexact picture of it.

Neither Voltaire nor Montesquieu were revolutionists; they only demanded reforms:

In matters of religion: that the church should cease the persecution of dissenters and of unbelievers, that the clergy should be less wealthy and less powerful.

In political matters: that the sovereign should govern in harmony with the nobility, and make no more arbitrary arrests; that the nobility should consent to pay the taxes; that the nobility should give up its rights of jurisdiction and of mortmain; that torture should be abolished, together with all cruel punishments and secret procedures; that the taxes should be established and levied more justly.

The philosophers of the second generation were less moderate. Rousseau and Diderot were men of the people, one was the son of a Genevese clock-maker, the other was the son of a cutler at Langres; they had had a precarious existence in Paris, and did not approve of the existing organization of society. They troubled themselves little with regard to the institutions of England; they dreamed of general principles, and wished for a society constructed on these principles.

Rousseau accepted neither the government nor the religions of his time. All were bad, because they had been created by man and were contrary to nature. The principle of his ethics was, that man is a being essentially good, loving justice and order. "Nature has made man happy and good, society depraves him and makes him miserable." Society is unjust because it does not give the same advantages to all men; ownership of property is unjust, as it is taken from the general supply of lands which should belong to humanity; more unjust still is the government, "where a child commands an aged man, and

an imbecile rules men of wisdom." Therefore society, ownership, and government must be destroyed, and we must return to nature. Men will arrange then to found a society which will rest on an agreement accepted by all—the "Contrat Social"; they will establish a government which will give to all the same rights, and which will administer all authority. In place of the sovereignty of the king, we shall have the sovereignty of the people; all citizens will be equal, and the government chosen by all will be given absolute authority; it will regulate wealth, education, and even religion. Rousseau rejected the Christian religion, but he still accepted the worship of God, the Supreme Being. His disciples were those who loved nature and the revolutionists who were partisans of equality.

The Encyclopædists.—Diderot, one of the most brilliant writers of the century, after having lived, with difficulty, in Paris by giving lessons and in doing work for the booksellers, had begun to make a reputation for himself by his philosophical writings; he had been arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes. He conceived the bold idea of publishing a general dictionary which should be a compendium of all human knowledge. The title of the work is, Encyclopædia or Descriptive Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Trades, by a Society of Men of Letters, arranged by Diderot; the part relating to Mathematics, by D'Alembert.

Almost all the savants and philosophers collaborated in this work; Diderot revised all the articles; he himself wrote a great number of them on philosophy, history, politics, and especially on the mechanical arts. D'Alembert took charge of the mathematics, and wrote the preliminary matter (the introduction).

The publication of this work lasted for more than twenty years (1751–1772), and consisted of twenty-eight folio volumes (eleven composed of engravings). It was necessary for Diderot to have immense energy in order to complete this work; the first two volumes had been suppressed by the censor in 1752, and for eighteen months the police prevented the publication of the successive volumes. Diderot finally obtained the authority necessary, but after the seventh volume, it was withdrawn. The protection of Choiseul was needed in order to have the interdict removed. The Encyclopædia was distributed throughout all Europe, and helped to spread the ideas of the French philosophers.

The collaborators had different ideas, but those who took the lead, especially in the last volumes, were the most violent, Helvétius, D'Holbach, Mably, Raynal; those who are called the encyclopædists. These, like Diderot their chief, no longer admitted natural religion or the rights of man. They said that man is made for pleasure and should act in his own interest alone; that laws and religions are shackles which hinder man from the attainment of happiness; that he must destroy them in order to return to nature. The philosophers of that school attacked both church and state, as well as the old social institutions, the family and the ownership of property; they rejected belief in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul, and declared themselves atheists and materialists.

Influence of the Philosophers.—The strength of this philosophy lay in the fact that the French philosophers were excellent writers. They presented their doctrines in a form clear and witty, in satires, in romances, and in letters, which frivolous and uneducated men could read

without being bored, and could comprehend without effort. Their books were soon the fashion in good society. Sometimes Parlement condemned one of their books and had it burned by the hand of the public executioner; but copies of them continued to circulate even with the connivance of the authorities. The philosophers were invited to the salons of the most distinguished personages, each one was the centre of a little circle which gathered for supper in order to make sport of religion, and to discuss philosophy and political economy. The fashion had taken possession even of the princes. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot were in correspondence with Catherine of Russia; Frederick II. had sent for Voltaire to come to him at Potsdam. At the same time the people had begun to read the journals; they were very enthusiastic over the doctrines of the philosophers, especially over those of Voltaire and Rousseau. When Voltaire returned to Paris in 1778, the crowd carried him in triumph.

In the eighteenth century all Europe was imbued with philosophy. The doctrines thus sown broadcast differed in many points, but all were in accord as regards fundamental ideas. Men, down to that time, had obeyed custom and religion (the philosophers said prejudice and superstition). Society so constituted is odious and absurd. "Things cannot remain as they are." The reign of intelligence has come; men are enlightened by reason. Reason must henceforth be the foundation of society. The reason of the eighteenth century was not the knowledge and observation of facts, it was only common-sense and logic. The philosophers had concerned themselves very little about the society that they wanted to reform, they did not know the actual man, they knew nothing about the

peasant and the workingman; they set up for themselves an imaginary man, made in their own image, without religion, without social habits, who sought for nothing but happiness, and who acted from abstract motives. They imagined that men are everywhere the same, that everywhere they are reasonable and good. In order to restore them to their natural condition the only thing to be done was to abolish the institutions that oppress them. A decree of the government will suffice and society will be reformed.

Society is badly organized; it must be changed. In order to change it the will of the government is sufficient; such is the resumé of philosophy. This became the rule in the politics of the eighteenth century. Applied by the statesmen it was going to lead to a movement of reform throughout Europe; practised by the subjects themselves in France, it led to the Revolution.

THE REFORMS

The Reform Princes and Ministers.—Among the statesmen who were governing Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, there were several who were seized with admiration for the ideas of the economists and philosophers, and who sought to apply them. Some of them were sovereigns (Joseph II. in Austria, Leopold in Tuscany, Frederick II. in Prussia, Catherine in Russia, the princes of Baden, Weimar, and Mayence), others were ministers ruling in the names of their king (Tanucci at Naples, Pombal in Portugal, Aranda and Campomanès in Spain).

These statesmen regarded the rôle of the sovereign in

an entirely new light. They no longer considered the state to be the private domain of the prince, which he could dispose of according to his caprice. Their principle was that the sovereign is only the head of the state; he has not the right to spend the money from the taxes for his own personal pleasure; he should employ it in useful works; he has not the right to give the offices to his favorites, he should give them to intelligent and honest men, who will look upon themselves as the servants of the state. Therefore they sought to diminish the expenses of the court, to make the administration more moderate and systematic, to increase the wealth of the subjects. But, like the philosophers, they thought that all men resembled themselves, and that it only depended upon the government to fashion them according to its intentions. Accustomed to being obeyed, they believed that it would be sufficient to command, in order to completely transform society. They counted on making all trace of barbarism disappear from the state, and to establish there the "reign of intelligence," that is to say, a government founded on "reason." They enacted their reforms without taking the trouble to consult with their subjects, without taking into account their customs, often in spite of them. They put the whole force of the state, as they said, to the service of intelligence. Their régime has been called an enlightened despotism.

Joseph II. of Austria.—Joseph II. was the most perfect type of the enlightened despot. From his accession to the throne he entirely devoted himself to his duties as a sovereign. He rose at five o'clock, dressed hurriedly, went into his cabinet where he set to work dictating to his secretaries. He worked there until noon; a gallery was thrown open for the reception of petitioners, Joseph entered and

received the petitions. After his promenade, toward two o'clock, he ate alone and rapidly. He indulged in a little music, then set again to work, and gave an audience until seven o'clock. Toward eleven o'clock he went to the theatre, and often before going to bed, he read still more dispatches. He drank scarcely anything but water, he wore a blue military uniform, with boots; he slept on a mattress of corn husks with a leather bolster and a covering of deerskin; a horse was always saddled so as to be ready to carry him wherever he desired to go. He made frequent tours through his states, going in a post-chaise by bottomless roads, and always at full trot. As soon as he arrived in a town he settled down at an inn, had a work-table arranged, and began to dictate, read, and sign; then he departed. In the court of Vienna he had found the luxurious living and etiquette of the monarchies of his century; in the stables 2,200 horses, a massive gold service of 225 kilogrammes, an annual expense of 35,000,000 francs; extravagance in the kitchens (it was reckoned that two casks of Tokay wine were used per year to moisten the bread of the pet parrots of the empress). He sent away the chamberlains to eat at their own mansions, had the coins of collections melted down, and ceased to give banquets. At the same time he upset the ceremonial of the court. At Prague he brought into a circle of nobles a lady of the bourgeoisie; the noble ladies refused to speak to her; the emperor danced with her, and with her only.

Following the humane principles of the philosophers, Joseph abolished serfdom and permitted the peasants to be married and to leave the domain without the consent of the seignior. He abolished torture and capital punishment, he suppressed the censorship, and even permitted

the printing of libels against himself, contenting himself with publishing a notice in which he begged his subjects to judge him not according to the satirical pamphlets of his enemies, but according to his actions. He established religious tolerance, and permitted Protestants and Jews to celebrate their worship in a public manner.

Like the philosophers, he scorned the traditions, and did not think himself obliged to consider ancient usages and laws. "An empire, where I am in command," wrote he, "must be ruled according to my principles. Prejudices, fanaticism, party-spirit must disappear, and all my subjects must return to the exercise of their natural rights." The states of the house of Austria had been formed of countries brought together by chance into the domain of the same family, but they differed in race, religion, and manners, and there was no reason for uniting them into a single body. It was an assemblage of diverse peoples: Germans, Hungarians, Croats, Bohemians, Poles, Belgians, Italians; some even belonged to the older nations. Nowhere in Europe could a state have been formed, where so much consideration of the differences in the provinces was absolutely necessary, where it was more absurd to apply a uniform procedure. But Joseph intended to reorganize all his states on a new plan, and on the same plan. He refused to go and take the usual oath in his kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, then he did away with the ancient provinces and divided all his states into thirteen departments, subdivided into circles. He wanted to establish everywhere the same laws, the same taxes, and the same methods of administration. He decided that in the courts of Hungary the cases should be tried in the German language, the judges who did not

know German were to be removed. The Hungarian assemblies protested; he put an interdict upon them.

He even believed that he had the right to regulate the religion of his subjects: "Since I have been wearing the chief diadem of the world, philosophy has become the lawgiver of my state." "I do not like," said he, in 1780, "to have the people whose mission it is to prepare our salvation give themselves so much trouble in order to direct our affairs in this one." Consequently he charged a commission with "abolishing all the superfluous convents." Out of 2,663 convents he had 624 closed, confiscated their property, and turned the buildings into hospitals, colleges, barracks, and manufactories. He thought that the Austrian churches were too ornate; he had the laces and jewels taken from the statues of the saints, and removed the votive offerings in the chapels which were frequented by pilgrims; the treasure, vases, reliquaries, shrines, were sold to the Jews to be melted down; the manuscripts ornamented with miniatures, the seals, and the parchments were sold by the pound. He ordered the altars, which "encumbered the churches" to be demolished, the crosses and statues to be carried off, and prohibited pilgrimages and processions. He regulated the number of masses, and the ceremonies of Holy Week, he founded general seminaries, where the priests were to learn religion as the emperor understood it. "When my projects are realized," said he, "the population of my empire will be acquainted with their duty toward God." The pope came in person to Vienna in order to protest against all this subversion (1782); Joseph refused to discuss the affair, and went on with his reforms.

He did not recognize any religions that displeased him.

A sect had been formed in Bohemia, composed of honest and industrious peasants who believed in God and styled themselves deists. The emperor ordered them to be brought to justice; those who would uphold their belief were to receive twenty-five lashes, "not because they are deists," said Joseph, "but because they declare themselves to be something which they do not comprehend." The stick not having been enough to convert them, the emperor had them arrested and deported to the frontier of Turkey, while recommending them to abandon each other.

Joseph II. had a sincere desire to govern well. But his idea was "to do grand things all at once." He despised all beliefs and customs not in accordance with reason. Beliefs and customs shattered his authority. Belgium and Hungary rose in rebellion. Joseph, before his death, was obliged to publish the celebrated "Revocation of the Ordinances which are regarded as contrary to Common Law." It began as follows: "We had brought some modifications into the government, through zeal for the public good, and in the sole hope that being enlightened by experience, you would take pleasure in them. Now we are convinced that you prefer the ancient manner of governing, and that it appears necessary to your happiness." The Hungarians received the ordinance joyfully, they tore up the plans of the government survey of lands, scratched off the numbers from their houses, and forbade the learning of German.

Leopold of Tuscany.—Leopold of Austria, immediately on his arrival in Tuscany, had sought to reduce the expenses of his petty state; he had disbanded his troops, demolished the fortifications at Pisa, and done away with his court. He worked in his cabinet, at an ordinary table made

of planed pine planks, instead of at a secretary, and with a candlestick of common tin. Following the usage of the enlightened princes he had abolished the torture, the Inquisition, and the confiscation of property; he had founded hospitals which he went to visit. The convents of Tuscany had, ever since the Middle Ages, preserved the old *right of refuge*, the courts had no jurisdiction within their walls. The churches of the convents served as a retreat for bands of adventurers, murderers, deserters, and escaped convicts, who lived in the church, disturbed the services, and maltreated the passers-by. Leopold, without regard to the privileges, had them all arrested (1769).

Catherine II. of Russia.—Catherine was a German princess and had become czarina through the murder of her husband. She was a learned woman, in correspondence with the philosophers; she had herself composed some comedies and a tragedy. "She has the soul of Brutus under the form of Cleopatra," said Diderot.

She was very active and very vain, consumed with the desire to be talked about; she wanted to have the reputation in Europe of being an enlightened sovereign, capable of governing according to the principles of the philosophers.

She especially admired Montesquieu. She said that the "Spirit of the Laws" ought to be the breviary of sovereigns. "If I were pope I would canonize Montesquieu." In 1767 she called a general commission for the purpose of preparing a code of common law for all Russia. She had herself drawn up the instructions which were to be followed by the commission, and had introduced in it many passages taken from Montesquieu; she said that she had cribbed them, but that if he were still at work in the other world, he would not blame a plagiarism useful to 20,000,000

souls. On sending a copy of these instructions to the King of Prussia, she added: "You will see that I have done like the raven in the fable, which dressed himself in the plumes of the peacock; the arrangement alone is mine, and perhaps a line or a word here and there." The commission was composed of delegates from all of the provinces. After having heard them, Catherine sent them away and had a code drawn up in which the principles of the philosophers were set forth: "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation. It is better to spare ten culprits than to punish one innocent person." She abolished torture and capital punishment. Indifferent to all religion, she allowed the Catholics and the Dissenters to practise the rites of their religion without let or hindrance, and she welcomed the Jesuits who had been driven out of the Catholic states. But Catherine took only as much of the philosophy as was necessary. "With your grand principles," she wrote to Diderot, "one can make fine books and wretched work." In place of capital punishment she used deportation to Siberia; she did not do away with the knout; she invaded Poland and ordered the Poles to be massacred.

In 1771 she had a report made of the work accomplished during her reign (in nineteen years) and sent to the philosopher Grimm the following list:

Governments set up according to the new form	29
Towns established and built	144
Conventions and treaties concluded	30
Victories won	78
Memorable edicts bearing upon law or establishment	88
Edicts for the relief of the people	123
Total	492

"All this concerns the state and no private affair has a place in this list."

Evidently Catherine was anxious to prove that she had done a great deal. She did not say that the great part of these laws had not been put in force, and that a great number of towns consisted only of a stake with an inscription, that the buildings erected in such haste had fallen to pieces. That which chiefly concerned her was, that she must impress the philosophers and the public with an idea of her merit; she succeeded, in fact, in obtaining from the philosophers the surname of the Semiramis of the North.

Pombal in Portugal.—Pombal, a country gentleman, born in 1699, after having withdrawn from the army, had studied history and legislation, then he had entered diplomacy, and had passed several years in England and afterward in Austria. In 1750 the king, Joseph V., made him Minister of Foreign Affairs, and soon after gave over to him the entire control of the government. Pombal was the sole master of Portugal until the death of the king in 1777. Portugal had, ever since the seventeenth century, been ruled by the Inquisition and the order of Jesuits; the confessors of the king and of his family conducted the court and the government. Ever since the treaties made with England, Portugal, from an economic point of view, had been closely dependent upon the English. The treaty of 1656 gave to the English the right of exporting cloths to Portugal; the treaty of 1703 stipulated that the wines of Portugal could be brought into England by paying one-third less than the duty paid by French wines. The Portuguese were accustomed to receive English goods in return for their wines and for the gold which

they obtained in their colony of Brazil. They had neither industry nor commerce; the vessels landing at Lisbon were English vessels and the merchants established in Portugal were Englishmen. Gradually they acquired control of all the commerce, and profited by it to impose their conditions on the Portuguese; they bought no more wine except at very low prices, insufficient to compensate for the labor. The vine-dressers, discouraged and ruined, preferred to let the land lie untilled. Pombal wrote to the English government in 1759: "Through a stupid act, without parallel in the economic world, we permit you to dress us and to procure objects of luxury for us. We thus furnish you with enough to maintain 50,000 workmen, subjects of King George, who live at our expense in the capital of England."

Pombal labored to free the Portuguese government from the domination of the Jesuits, and the Portuguese people from their dependence on England.

In opposition to the English he founded the general agricultural company of the vineyards of the Upper Douro, which alone had the right to buy the wines, but which was obliged to pay a fixed price for them; he organized a commercial company which alone had the right to authorize the retail dealers to open a shop. So the government intervened in order to reserve for its Portuguese subjects the trade in wines and the small trade of the country. In order to incite the Portuguese to establish industries Pombal adopted the protective system; he prohibited the exportation of wools and of other raw materials; he permitted the exportation, without paying any duty, of manufactured articles, silks, and sugar.

Pombal employed violent means in opposing the dom-

ination of the clergy. The Jesuits sought his overthrow, and he made open war against them. In 1757 he expelled the confessors of the royal family, all Jesuits; prohibited the Jesuits from coming to court without a permit. He denounced them to the pope for carrying on commerce and demanded the reform of their order. The cardinal who had been sent by the pope to visit them and to reform the abuses in the Society of Jesus, declared that their commerce was contrary to the laws, human and divine, and he withdrew from them the right to confess and to preach. An attempt to assassinate the king, made in the night of September 8, 1758, gave Pombal an opportunity to begin his prosecution. They found no proofs that the Jesuits were accomplices in the crime, but the government confiscated their property and resolved to expel them all from the kingdom and from the colonies. They were put on board ships, which took them to Civita Vecchia, in the papal states.

All the schools in Portugal had been kept by Jesuits. After the expulsion Pombal wanted to reorganize them with lay professors. He appointed professors of Latin, Greek, rhetoric, and logic. They were to be paid by the state and to give gratuitous instruction. The privileges of the nobility were given to them. At the University of Coimbra he created two new faculties, natural sciences and mathematics, a museum of medicine, a chemical museum, and an observatory. He was especially anxious to exalt the teaching of Portuguese and of the sciences. "The cultivation of the maternal tongue," said he "is one of the most powerful factors in the education of civilized peoples." He tried to reform the discipline of the University of Coimbra; in 1766 he found 6,000 students

inscribed on the registers, but on erasing the fictitious names the number was reduced to 700. In 1772 he appointed 887 professors or teachers (479 for reading and writing, 236 for Latin, 88 for Greek). He wanted to have the Portuguese instructed so that they might be placed on a level with the other peoples of Europe. These reforms did not last. After the death of the king Pombal fell from favor and the government resumed its old methods.

The Ministers of Charles III. in Spain.—Spain was in a situation analogous to that of Portugal, deprived of commerce and industry and given over to the domination of the Inquisition and of the Jesuits. Charles III., who had left the kingdom of Naples in 1759 in order to become King of Spain, tried to liberate his new kingdom and to restore it to its former place among the nations of Europe. At first he was assisted by the ministers that he had brought from Italy: Squilace and Grimaldi; afterward by the Spaniards: Aranda, Campomanès, and Florida Blanca.

In order to found an industry in Spain protectionist methods were employed. Customs-duties were placed on the foreign merchandise imported, and the entry of certain articles was prohibited.

In order to restore commerce the contrary method of free trade was employed. Absolute liberty was granted to the grain trade (1765), and at last (1778) all Spaniards were permitted to carry on commerce with the colonies, which, until that period, had been a monopoly of the merchants in Seville, and afterwards in Cadiz. The results were excellent; in 1788 the trade with the colonies had increased eight to nine per cent.

The new ideas of political economy were spread rapidly

throughout Spain by the aid of Economic Societies. The first had been founded by the Basques. Fifty-four towns demanded permission to organize similar associations. The Madrid Society, established free schools for the purpose of teaching spinning and weaving to young girls.

The ministers did not dare to suppress the Inquisition. Aranda had obtained a decree which prohibited the trial of civil causes by the Holy Office (1770). But the French encyclopædists, to be agreeable to him, had the untoward idea of writing a eulogy on him, and announced that he was about to destroy the Inquisition. Aranda was dismayed; he was afraid of appearing to be the instrument of the enemies of all religion, and the Inquisition was saved. In 1778 Olavida, one of the agents of the government, was condemned to have his possessions confiscated and to eight years' imprisonment in a convent because he had read forbidden books and had accepted the system of Copernicus; but condemnations to death became very rare. In twenty-nine years only four persons were burned.

In order to fill the place in education occupied by the Jesuits, the government tried to organize a system of schools. But the University of Salamanca refused to reform its method, and transmitted its scheme of study, founded on the philosophy of Aristotle, saying that the systems of Newton and Descartes did not at all agree with revealed truth. It was necessary to work outside of the universities; several botanical gardens and a museum of natural history were established. In Spain as well as in Portugal some wise and learned men then appeared. The movement lasted until the epoch of the Napoleonic wars.

Efforts at Reform in France.—During all the reign of Louis XV. (until 1774) the government made only petty reforms in France. Louis XVI. was very young when he came to the throne. He desired to be a benefactor of his people. Two men were recommended to him, who were known for their honesty and their love for the public welfare; one was a magistrate, Malesherbes, the other an economist, Turgot. Louis XVI. appointed them to be his ministers. The general direction of the government remained in the hands of Maurepas, an old courtier, but the king announced his intention of making reforms, and he asked the advice of Turgot, who wrote out his projects in a letter to the king (August 24, 1774).

Turgot was comptroller-general, charged with administering the finances. He summed up his plan as follows: "No bankruptcy, no borrowing, no increase of the taxes." He estimated that they could save each year about 20,000,000 francs, do away with the deficit, and little by little could pay the public debt. He succeeded, in fact, in paying more than 40,000,000 francs in twenty years, and he lowered the deficit from 22,000,000 to 15,000,000 francs.

He wanted to reform, in general, the economic organization:

1. To abolish the rules which prevented the buying and selling of grain, to allow the merchants of these commodities complete liberty.

2. To abolish all the privileged guilds, and to give to all the inhabitants full liberty to carry on any trade.

3. To abolish privilege in regard to taxes, and to levy the taxes equally on all proprietors. "The expenses of the government," he said, "having for an object the interest of all, all should contribute to it; and

the more one enjoys the privileges of society, the more one should consider himself honored in sharing its burdens."

4. To establish assemblies of proprietors in the communes and in the provinces for the purpose of aiding the functionaries of the king in their administration. "Your nation," he said to the king, "has no constitution, it is a society composed of different orders, not at all united, and of a people whose individual members have almost no social bonds of union, where, consequently, each one is occupied only with his own private exclusive interest in such a way that Your Majesty is obliged to decide all matters, either personally or through your officials. In order to do away with this spirit of disunion, it is necessary to have a plan which will bind together all the parts of the kingdom."

Turgot found himself in a very difficult position. His projects were displeasing to the people at court and to the queen, as they did not wish that any economy should be practised at court; to the nobles and to the parlements, who did not wish equality of taxation; to the master-workmen, who did not wish for freedom in the practice of trades. His only supporters were the authors of books on economics and philosophy, and they had little influence. He could not think of making the king adopt all the reforms at once; he presented them one by one. Louis XVI. began by approving them: "I give you my word of honor in advance to enter into all your plans, and always to support you in all the courageous ventures which you have undertaken." In this way Turgot was able to carry out several reforms:

1. He established free trade in grain (1774) and maintained it in spite of disturbance.

2. He abolished the trade companies and the wardenship of the trade corporations, that is, the organization of the bodies of the licensed trades, and established complete liberty of labor (1776).

3. He established equality of taxation for all. Concerning the secondary question, he said himself "that it would be absurd to wish to make the nobility and the clergy pay the villein tax, because certain prejudices seem to make this tax a degradation." He had selected a very small tax; the royal *corvié* which bore only on the common people, all the privileged classes being exempt. Turgot abolished that, and substituted for it a tax in money, which had to be paid by all the property owners (1776). Turgot then presented to Louis XVI. a plan to reform the administration by creating provincial assemblies. But Louis XVI. was wearied by the opposition which the reforms had aroused; the parlements had refused to register the edicts of 1776; the court, the queen, everybody complained of Turgot. They said that he was a theorist, that he was going to overthrow the kingdom; and he was removed from office (1776). The successors of Turgot re-established what he had abolished.

His plan for having provincial assemblies was timorously taken up again by Necker (1778–1779). In Berri and the Haute-Guienne an assembly was formed, composed of the nobility, the clergy, and the gentry. The government appointed part of the representatives, and the assembly had no other function than to assess and levy the taxes, to take charge of the highways, commerce, and agriculture; it was to assist the intendant in the administration. "All precautions necessary have been taken," said Necker, "so that all forms of administration should continually

feel that they must have the confidence of His Majesty, and that they have no force save in this confidence. It is for the simple administrators, honored by the confidence of the king, and for the commissioners, credited by the sovereign, to second in common his beneficent views.

It was only in 1787 that the government decided to organize provincial assemblies in all the provinces where they were not already part of the government. But it was too late, discontent was too rampant; the assemblies began a conflict with the intendants and tried to overthrow the administration.

Malesherbes wanted to reform the police and the judiciary systems; he succeeded somewhat in the betterment of the prisons, and in having torture abolished. But he could not suppress the system of the "lettres de cachet." The adversaries of Turgot were opposed to him, and he was dismissed about the same time.

The work of reform, begun in the early years of the reign of Louis XVI., had failed through the resistance of the privileged classes. The system only became more consolidated. In 1781 the minister of war decided that the nobles alone could become officers. The benefices of the clergy, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, were reserved for the nobles. In the country the seigniors had lawyers searching for the rents which the peasants had ceased to pay. During this time the deficit still continued to increase. This régime ended in the Revolution.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

MONARCHY AND SOCIETY AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Ancient Régime.—Society and government was still, at the end of the eighteenth century, organized according to the old customs which had gradually grown up since the Middle Ages. When the French of the eighteenth century began to reflect on political questions, the greater part of the institutions in the midst of which they lived seemed to them no more than grievances against humanity and reason. The institutions that the Revolution destroyed are known under the general name of the ancient régime.

In this régime three conditions were criticised: the monarchy was reproached for exercising absolute power, without restraint or control; society, for being founded upon class privileges; the government, for following a confused and irregular routine.

Monarchy and Absolute Power.—The methods of government had gradually been organized by the kings so as to concentrate all authority in their hands. The King of France united all authority in his person; he alone had the executive power, the right of naming all the officials, even

the members of the clergy; of declaring war or peace, of making alliances, of levying troops and militia, of conducting the whole administration. He had the legislative power; an edict of the king was sufficient to change the regulations of the government, or of justice, for an edict had the force of law. There were in France no other laws but the ancient customs and the edicts of the kings.

The king was the source of judicial authority; all justice was rendered in his name, the judges were understood to be in his service, he had the right to retire them from office,[1] or to call for legal action in order to have the case tried before a special commission. He had authority over the finances. He, himself, fixed the amount to be spent and what imposts should be paid. He levied the taxes according to whatever procedure he deemed satisfactory.

For the purpose of exercising all these powers the king was obliged to have functionaries of every kind. In the centre were the ministers, who formed the council of the king (they had kept the ancient titles, chancellor for justice, comptroller-general for the finances, secretaries of state for the other departments); each province had its intendant and its sub-delegates. But all these agents had no authority of themselves; the king appointed and dismissed them at his own pleasure.

The king and his agents exercised absolute power. It was said that this power should not be arbitrary, that the king should govern according to certain customs, which were called the fundamental laws of the kingdom. But

[1] As the functions of the judges had become purchasable offices (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), the king could not retire them without reimbursing the purchaser; the kings, always short of money, did not make use of this right; so the judges were irremovable in fact, but not in law.

these fundamental laws were not written, and no one could exactly tell in what they consisted.

The Parlement, in 1787, had declared that the king should not establish new imposts without demanding permission from the States-General. (This was an entirely new theory. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. had created several taxes, and yet the States had not been called together for 165 years.) The chancellor came with the king to the sitting of the 19th of November, for the purpose of setting forth, in the name of the king, "the principles of monarchical government." Those principles, universally admitted by the nation, attested that to the king alone belonged the sovereign power in his kingdom, that he is accountable only to God for the manner in which he exercises the supreme power; finally, that the legislative power lies in the person of the sovereign, without dependence on another and without division of authority. The result of these ancient national maxims was that the king had no need of any extraordinary power to aid in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, that a king of France could find in the representatives of the state only an enlarged council, . . . and that he would always be the supreme arbiter of their remonstrances and griefs." The Parlement made respectful opposition to the declaration. The king ordered it to register the edict for a loan. The Duke of Orleans demanded that it should be inscribed on the register, that the registration was done "at the very express command of His Majesty." He declared that the measure was illegal. Louis XVI. said in an undertone, "It is all the same to me." Then he added: "Yes, it is legal, because I so will." There was, in fact, no other rule of government save the will of the king. As he could

not exercise all his power in person, the ministers and the intendants in reality governed the kingdom, and governed it despotically, for they were subject to no fixed rule, and did not share the power with any one.

There still remained two remnants of the ancient authority: the parlements and the provincial estates. But the parlements had no power except to dispense justice to individuals (the cases in which the government was concerned were judged before special tribunals or by the state council); therefore, they could not serve as a check to the abuse of executive power. The provincial estates existed only in a few provinces (Brittany, Burgundy, Provence, Languedoc, small districts of the Pyrenees), and they were reduced to a session of a few days, their only rôle being to vote on the land-tax, and apportion it throughout the province.

The officers of the king decided all affairs as if they were the masters. The communes could not do a single act, not even repair a bridge, or a church, without obtaining permission from the government. In the greater number of provinces there existed no body higher than the commune, not even a consulting body. The inhabitants had not even the means of presenting their petitions and complaints to the government. The officers exercised all authority, not only without division, but without surveillance. No one had the right to control their actions, no one had even the means of knowing them. No assembly was called to examine into the administration of the government of a province, or of the general government of the kingdom (nothing that resembles our general councils or our chamber of deputies). No journal had the right to discuss the decisions of the officers, the censor forbade

that; very often it was impossible even to know them, for they were rendered in secret. The ministers and their employees governed secretly, without the public being informed of their movements. "It is from the depths of the bureaux that France is governed," said Necker. Even the figures of the expenditures and receipts were not known. It was a bold act in Necker to have a written statement made of the expenditures, which, however, was not exact. So there was no independent power, no publicity that could arrest, or at least point out, the abuses of power; nothing, not even the fear of public opinion, in order to prevent the all-powerful and irresponsible functionaries from employing their authority to satisfy their whims, to favor their friends, or to persecute their personal enemies. The king handled the receipts of the state as if they were his personal revenue. When he took money from the treasury, it was his own that he was spending. Outside of the sums necessary for the support of his household, he distributed 40,000,000 francs per year in presents, under the form of pensions to people of the court (the single family of Polignac received pensions amounting to 700,000 livres). He had all the funds in the treasury placed at his service; it was enough for him to sign a receipt, for the bearer of the receipt had only to draw the money from the public coffer. This custom made the establishment of a systematized budget impossible.

The expenditures were not regulated so as to balance the receipts; almost always the amount received was far below the expenditures, and the deficit was made up by loans.

The taxes were always left to the discretion of the government. Each year the council decided what sum of money

each province should pay; the provincial estates could discuss the amount of their contributions. They alone, therefore, had an organization for the apportionment of the tax among the inhabitants according to their wealth. In all the rest of France the collections were superintended by the government officials; the intendant of the province and his appointees apportioned the "taille" (tax) in the parishes; often they were accused of releasing from payment the parishes in which their friends had domains. The "taille" was apportioned to the inhabitants of a parish, not according to the amount of property, nor after any fixed rule, but "according to the ability" of each (this was the old custom). The collectors were master appraisers of this ability, indicating what each inhabitant was in a condition to pay; they increased or diminished at their own pleasure the share of each one. The peasants were obliged to appear to be poor, to avoid the increase of their contribution; they lived in miserable houses and concealed their provisions. The *aides* (taxes on beverages) and the *gabelle* (the salt-tax), which the state farmed out to companies, were levied by the agents of the companies, who were invested with the same powers as the government officials. They entered houses searching for contraband salt. Smugglers (contraband salt-makers) were condemned to be flogged, or were sent to the galleys. Every year two or three thousand of them were arrested. The administration in certain provinces finally fixed the quantity of salt that each family should buy; this was the duty-salt. This salt had to be consumed in the kitchen; it was forbidden to use it in salting pork. Therefore, the *gabelle* became odious to the whole population.

The French, in the eighteenth century, paid one-fifth

of the taxes that they pay to-day, and they bore them with difficulty, because the tax was apportioned without taking into account the wealth of those who were taxable, and it was collected by arbitrary and vexatious methods. It was the same thing regarding the militia. Ever since it had been established under Louis XIV. it had remained in the discretionary power of the intendants who exempted from conscription the sons of the rich peasants.

The police, created by Louis XIV., were of all the instruments of authority the most redoubtable for the subjects of the kingdom. A commission of censorship examined all writings before they were published. It depended on the caprice of the censor whether or no a book should be allowed to appear. Printers who risked the publication without having obtained a permit from the censor, were exposed to condemnation, and were punished by imprisonment or by being sent to the galleys. Books published without authority were brought before the tribunals, condemned to be destroyed, often to be burned by the hand of the public executioner. This happened to the "Lettres Philosophiques" of Voltaire, to the "Lettre sur les Aveugles" of Diderot, and to the "Émile" of Rousseau. Often the author, without any trial, was sent to the Bastille. Voltaire was confined there at two different times; in order to be able to work in security he resolved to go outside of French territory (in Lorraine, in Prussia, and at Ferney). Fréret had been put into the Bastille because of his philosophical dissertations on the Frank kings, in which he demonstrated the falsity of certain traditions concerning the origin of the monarchy.

There was no liberty of the press. The censor rendered it impossible to publish daily journals; an article could not

appear until after it had been examined. The journals, tolerated by the censorship, contained no other information on the political conditions than was conveyed in the official communications of the government.

There was no greater liberty of conscience. The Catholic religion was obligatory. Louis XVI., at his coronation, repeated the oath "sincerely to exert all his power in the extermination of the heretics condemned by the church from all lands of his dominion." Neither Protestants nor Jews could exercise any public function. Ever since 1685 the Protestant religion had been prohibited throughout the kingdom. The Protestants continued to hold their secret assemblies "in the desert" (that is, in retired places), and when these assemblies happened to be discovered the pastor was condemned to death and those present were sent to the galleys.

The Catholics themselves were not free; the inn-keepers were forbidden to serve meat on Friday or in Lent, workmen were forbidden to work on Sundays and on feast-days. The personal liberty of the individual was not guaranteed. The police, without being accountable to any one, could arrest and keep in prison any one whom they wished. An order of arrest in the name of the king contained in a "lettre de cachet" was sufficient. The person arrested by virtue of the "lettre de cachet" was confined in one of those prisons over which the courts had no surveillance (the most celebrated was the Bastille of Paris). He remained there until the governor of the prison received an order for his release; sometimes he was forgotten for years. Latude, for having offended Madame de Pompadour, was confined in the Bastille and remained there thirty-five years. These "lettres de cachet" were

placed at the disposal of the ministers and their clerks, who not only made use of them against the opponents of the government, but against their personal enemies. They even had recourse to the sale of blanks, where the purchaser could inscribe the name of the man whom he wanted to have arrested. It was, therefore, a means which fathers could employ when they wished to get rid of disobedient sons. In 1770 Malesherbes said to Louis XV.: "No citizen in your kingdom is sure of not seeing his liberty sacrificed by an act of vengeance; for no one is great enough to be secure from the hatred of a minister, nor insignificant enough to be overlooked by that of a revenue clerk." The government of the old monarchy, wholly concentrated in the person of the king, and controlled by his servants, established in this manner a despotic and arbitrary régime. No authority limited it, no surveillance forced it toward moderation, no law was a guarantee against its abuse.

Society and the Privileged Classes.—The society of the Middle Ages had been formed of several classes unequal before the law. The kings, in order to establish their power over all their subjects, did not need to destroy that inequality. The people belonging to the superior classes had, therefore, preserved particular rights (called *privilèges*).

Three orders were officially recognized in the nation; that is to say, three classes which were separately represented in the states assemblies.

The clergy, which had the precedence over all the other orders, had preserved immense domains (nearly one-fourth of all the lands in the kingdom) and a sort of tax on the harvest, the tithe (which amounted to about 125,-

000,000 francs a year). The lands were not subject to taxation. No contribution was made to the government except a donation of about 10,000,000 francs which an assembly of the clergy voted every five years. The clergy had the surveillance of the primary schools, hospitals, and charitable establishments. They kept a registry of baptisms, marriages, and interments, which held the place of our civil records. There were church tribunals which tried ecclesiastics accused of offences against the discipline of the church, and which decided suits in regard to marriage.

The nobility were formerly owners of nearly all the lands, and had held almost all the authority. They had still the fragments of that power.

The peasants had gradually become the proprietors of the lands which they were cultivating; they owned about one-third of the soil. But, in their relations to the ancient proprietor (the seignior) they remained subject to the charges established in the Middle Ages, and which in the eighteenth century were called feudal rights. The greater part were only low rents, but some embarrassed and irritated the peasants, especially the obligation to use the mill of the seignior and the laws governing the chase, which latter obliged them to allow the game to devour their crops, and to permit the hunters to tread down the grain.

Authority had passed into the hands of the officials of the government. But the nobles still had the advantage of being able to easily enter into these functions. All the offices of the court were reserved for them. One had to be of noble birth in order to become a member of the king's household. In the army such alone could attain to a superior rank, and after 1781, such alone might become officers and might receive the decorations of certain orders

(Holy-Spirit, Saint Louis, Military Merit). All had remained exempt from the ancient taxes, from the taille, and from the quartering of soldiers. Outside of these legal privileges, the nobles were generally treated with more regard in the administrative offices, the tribunals,[1] the public places (in the church of the village the seignior had the seat of honor). In practice, almost all the important offices were given to them, through preference, and in society they could act as the natural superiors of him who was not of gentle birth. Voltaire had had a quarrel with the Duke de Rohan. One day, in a house where he was dining, he was sent for on account of a pressing affair; hardly had he left the house when he was seized by the lackeys of the duke, and was given a severe drubbing. Voltaire could not obtain justice from the great lord, but, because he wanted to noise the affair abroad, the government confined him in the Bastille and allowed him to leave it only with the advice to go abroad and bury himself in oblivion.

After the clergy and the nobility came the third estate (designated only by the number of the order). In a broad sense the third estate was the whole nation. But it also was divided into categories, and several of these were privileged. The kings, in selling the offices pertaining to justice and the finances, had created a class of gentlemen of the long robe, owners of the right to dispense justice and to collect the taxes in the name of the king. The most important of these hereditary functionaries had be-

[1] It is commonly said, that under the ancient régime the noble was beheaded and the non-noble was hung. This is not entirely true, the punishment depended on the nature of the crime: a highwayman could be broken on the wheel, even if he were noble, and some examples of this punishment are on record.

come part of the nobility (the counsellors in the parlements were ennobled in the third generation). But all the others—judges, treasury officials, clerks, notaries, prosecutors—remained non-noble, but had, none the less, besides the authority attached to their office, the privilege of being exempt from the taille (villein tax) and from quartering soldiers, just as if they, too, were nobles.

Even among the manual laborers, subject to the taille, there were privileged classes. The right of carrying on an industry, or of keeping a shop, had remained a privilege, just as in the Middle Ages. The people of the same trade, the masters, formed a close corporation, into which no one could be admitted until he had served an apprenticeship of several years and had paid a fixed sum into the treasury. The number of places being limited, the privilege of following a trade was finally confined to the sons of master-workmen. Whoever tried to fabricate or sell, without first being admitted to a guild, was liable to imprisonment and to confiscation of goods.

Society was, therefore, founded on inequality. This inequality was revolting to the bourgeois especially. They no longer admitted that a man could be superior by mere fact of birth, they said that a bourgeois was the equal of a noble, and they demanded a share in the public offices.

Irregularity and Routine.—The enemies of the old régime criticised also the confused and barbarous organization of the government. The division into governments, dioceses, and generalities,[1] had been formed in time, without any plan of unity, by the successive enlarge-

[1] The name "province," which we are accustomed to apply to certain geographical divisions in France, was not the official name under the old régime.

ments, or divisions of territory; the divisions were very unequal, and were full of "enclaves" (that is, territories lying within the bounds of another). There were some "generalities" as large as five or six of our departments, others were the size of a single department. The diocese of Agde consisted of a score of parishes, that of Rouen had more than seven hundred. The divisions had no correspondence in the branches of service, the diocese, bailiwick, the tax-district (*élection*), the military government—each division had been created without regard to the others; they overlapped each other, and were entangled in a manner very inconvenient for administration.

The different provinces had each kept its usage and its measures of length, weight, and capacity; there was no rule, no general, common law. It was very difficult to carry on business and commerce between the provinces. The regions on the frontier were, moreover, separated from the rest of the kingdom by the ancient customs-boundary, which had been maintained after the annexation. This confusion and these diversities rendered the administration more difficult and communication less effective. Intelligent men were displeased with these conditions. They demanded a régime of uniform and methodical divisions, and a unity of customs, weights, and measures.

In the different branches of the administration the authorities continued to operate according to the old procedures, which seemed barbarous and unjust. In the finances, the taxes were apportioned so as to weigh more heavily upon the poorest; the villein tax remained, organized on the same principles as in the fifteenth century, and even the taxes created under Louis XIV., the capi-

tation, and the "vingtième" (one-twentieth of the revenue), which should have borne upon the privileged classes, had finally been unequally apportioned. The privileged classes had obtained release from them, to the detriment of the others. Taxes were levied with severity. If the tax-payer did not pay, bailiffs were sent to his house, where they lived at his expense. The collectors of the villein tax were not paid functionaries, they were the inhabitants of the village, who were forced to do the labor gratuitously, and yet they were responsible for the sums which they were unable to collect. The indirect taxes were farmed out; only one share of the product entered the coffers of the state. The company kept the remainder, and abused the power granted it by the state, in order to extort more from the tax-payers than they owed. The suits between the company and the individuals were tried before the special tribunals of the treasury which were interested in deciding in favor of the company.

In the army, the recruiting officers enrolled, through deception, the so-called volunteers. The discipline was cruel, and the soldier was still subject to punishment by flogging.

Methods of justice were the same as in the sixteenth century. The offices of the judges were purchasable, the one who bought or received as a heritage the office of judge was obliged to pass an examination before his installation, but no one was ever refused at this examination, at least on account of incapacity. The seigniorial justice still existed in the villages and had sufficient power to vex those under its jurisdiction without being of any service[1]

[1] Something of the old régime still exists in France. The Revolution was in part the work of lawyers who shrank from a complete reform of the judiciary, but the number of lawyers has diminished, trials have become shorter, and justice is gratuitous.

to them. There were sometimes as many as four tribunals placed over one another in such a way that one could appeal from one to the other. The trials dragged along for years; the prosecutors, notaries, and barristers, who lived on them, labored for their duration. The judges themselves were interested in these delays; they received from the litigants a sum (court-fees) proportioned to the time it took for the case. It often happened that the expenses of the trial exceeded the value of the object in litigation. Criminal justice was rendered according to the ancient procedure. The accused was kept in prison as long as it pleased the judges, he was put to torture, judged secretly, without the power to defend himself through an advocate, and condemned by professional judges who were always ready to find a culprit in every accused person. The barbarous punishments of the olden times were still in use, the brand of the red-hot iron, the pillory, the whip, the gallows, the wheel. Such are the customs which it is agreed to class under the name of the old régime.[1] In the eighteenth century they were considered only as abuses, not alone by those who suffered from them, but by those who profited by them—the nobles, the clergy, and the rich bourgeoisie.

THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

Origin of the Revolution.—The adversaries of the old régime had hoped that the government itself would under-

[1] Of the usages of the old régime, a few only go back as far as the feudal period. The greater number had been formed since the sixteenth century under the rule of an absolute monarchy. But the intelligent men of the eighteenth century detested the Middle Ages, and attributed to it everything that displeased them; therefore they regarded all abuses of whatever nature as the work of feudalism.

take a reform. The ministry of Turgot showed them that the privileged classes would not allow their privileges to be taken from them without making any resistance, and they began to say that there must be a revolution to suppress the abuses and to regenerate the kingdom. At first it was impossible to see how this revolution could be brought about. All sorts of people were interested in preventing it: the king and his officials in order to maintain absolute authority, the privileged classes in order to conserve the inequality in their favor. Now all authority was united in the government and in the privileged classes, even the power to hinder malcontents from talking. An Englishman, Arthur Young, who was travelling through France in 1787, observed that they talked there much less of the affairs of their own country than they did of the affairs of Holland. Two years later the Revolution was an accomplished fact. So the movement had been very rapid. This was because the government and the privileged classes, instead of sustaining each other in order to restrain the malcontents, had fought and mutually weakened each other.

The occasion of the struggle was a question of finance. For half a century the government had been spending beyond its resources, and a deficit was the rule. The amount in arrears kept on increasing; the war in America, which had cost nearly 500,000,000 francs, succeeded in disturbing the equilibrium in the budget. At first it was avoided by loans. In five years Necker borrowed 450,000,000 (not counting 40,000,000 advanced, and 45,000,000 alienated); his successor, Calonne, borrowed 650,000,000. The interest on these loans caused an increase in the deficit of 80,000,000 francs in 1783, and in 1787, the

deficit was increased at least 112,000,000. It was possible to maintain this system under the direction of a banker like Necker, who knew the ways and means of obtaining money. He had been able to inspire confidence in the capitalists by publishing the accounts of 1781, which had seemed to indicate an excess of receipts over expenditures.[1] But there came a moment when the people who had money refused to lend it, for fear of bankruptcy. In order to procure the required amount, it was found necessary to go back to the system of Turgot—to diminish the expenses by cutting off the pensions and the useless officers, and to increase the receipts by establishing a tax which would weigh upon rich and poor alike. This was proposed by Calonne. He had set forth the necessity of his reform before an assembly, so an assembly of the notables, chosen by the government, was called. He relied upon their approval of his project; the public believed him, so what did one care for the notables; "they could be sold at four sous each (they were jointed puppets, who nodded yes with the head)." But in this affair the government and the privileged classes had opposing interests. The government needed to do away with the licensed financiers, in order that the product of the taxes should be increased. The privileged classes insisted on not paying taxes, which seemed to them improper and a disgrace. The government insisted on preserving its absolute power, and without any control, it consulted the privileged classes only to have them approve its measures. The classes sought to profit by the embarrassments of the govern-

[1] This excess was fictitious. The account was an act to reassure the public—what we should call a "bluff." Mirabeau showed that at the time.

ment for the purpose of controlling its acts, discussing its policy, and of imposing upon it their collaboration. The government wanted to establish equality (at least in the matter of taxes) and to maintain absolute power. The privileged classes wanted to establish political liberty and to maintain inequality. Therefore the two powers interested in saving the old régime, in place of uniting in order to defend it, struggled against each other, each wanting to destroy a part of it.

The government met successively these resisting forces:

1. The notables, called together by Calonne, refused to give their approval to his project. Calonne was removed and replaced by Brienne who wanted to establish a new tax and to make new loans. But in order to inspire confidence in the money-lenders, a decree, ordering the loan, had to be placed on the registers of the Parlement at Paris.

2. The Parlement at Paris refused to register the decree, at least until the necessity of the tax and of the loan could be proved in its presence (it exceeded its authority, never having had the right to offer remonstrances to the king or to discuss his edicts). Then feeling itself sustained by the people of Paris, it declared "that the nation alone, represented by the States-General, has the right to grant subsidies to the king," and besought the king to "call together the States-General of his kingdom." (This theory, borrowed from England, had not been in force in France for more than two centuries.) The government hesitated in regard to the course it ought to pursue. It sought to appease the malcontents by promising to call together the members of the States-General, and by making a few efforts at reform. (It restored the social status of the Protestants

and formed provincial assemblies to aid and to watch over the intendants.) It tried also to make the Parlement yield to its demands by sending it into exile at Troyes, then by holding a *bed of justice* (the sitting of a parlement in the presence of the king), and, finally, by taking away the right to enroll the edicts.

3. The provincial estates, and the provincial assemblies, sided with the parlements and protested against the despotism of the ministers. There were even riots in Brittany, Provence, and Dauphiny. The nobles led the opposition as they wanted to maintain their privileges. In Dauphiny, however, the nobles united with the bourgeoisie, and revised the old form of the estates, which had been abolished in the seventeenth century. The estates of Vizille demanded political liberty not only for Dauphiny, but for all of France. Therefore, they could have been considered as making the first move toward the Revolution.

This opposition served to unsettle the old régime. The institutions were discussed in every gathering. The censorship of the press almost ceased. In 1787 and in 1788 thousands of pamphlets appeared. They criticised the absolute authority and the privileged classes. Public opinion grew more and more powerful. Young, on returning to France in 1788, found the whole country agitated, and it was everywhere said that they were on the eve of a revolution. The idea and the word were known even prior to 1789.

The government could not find any money even for its most pressing needs. There were not 500,000 francs remaining in the treasury. It had promised to call the States-General in 1792, and convoked them for the 5th of

May, 1789; meanwhile it suspended the payment of the public debt.

The States-General.—In order to procure money, the government was prepared to ask the collaboration of the nation and to assemble the representatives of the people. But two important questions remained that had to be settled:

1. Should the representatives, who were about to be convoked, represent the classes of society, or the nation as a whole? Should the states be composed, as formerly, of the three orders (clergy, nobility, third estate), each order deliberating and voting by itself? In this case the two privileged estates (clergy and nobility) would have the majority over the third estate. Or should a new system be adopted to give to the third estate force in proportion to its importance? The partisans of the third estate made the fact known that this order included nine-tenths of the nation, and that it was only right that it should be given at least as much power as was given to the two other orders. By this system the third estate was to have as many deputies as the other two orders taken together (this was called doubling the third estate), and all the deputies were to vote together so that the votes of the third should balance the votes of the other two orders (that was the vote by individuals).

2. Upon what subjects should the States-General deliberate? On questions of finance alone? Or on the whole administration? Should they confine themselves to the reformation of the system of taxation? Or should they have the right to reform in general all institutions?

The two questions were closely allied. The privileged orders consented to accept a reform of the taxes, but they

wanted to guard their other privileges; if they voted by order, they would have a majority, and would limit the reform to matters of finance. The third estate wanted a general reform; and if they voted by individuals, it would be the one to direct, and there would be a revolution. The contest then was between the privileged classes and the third estate (1788). The parlements, and the notables who came to combat against absolute power, fought to maintain the existing inequality. They demanded that the states should be convoked, following the ancient form (vote by orders). At once they became unpopular.

The government was to decide in what form the states should deliberate. It could, according as it desired, either limit the reform by sustaining the first two orders, or produce a revolution by sustaining the third order. It became the arbiter to decide between the privileged classes and the rest of the nation. But it had to declare for one or the other of the two parties. It did not dare to make a decision. When it was necessary to regulate the representation of the third estate, Necker tried to remain neutral in regard to the two parties; he granted the demand for the doubling of the third estate without deciding as to the vote by individuals. Neither did he decide what should be the rights of the assembly. The election of representatives to the States-General was held separately in each bailiwick for each of the three orders. The nobles and the priests voted directly for their deputies.[1] For the third estate, the election was by two degrees, the inhabitants of each parish assembled to choose delegates, who were to go to the chief town in the bailiwick, where they were to elect the deputies for the entire bailiwick. Each of these gatherings was

[1] The bishops and certain seigniors were members of the Right.

obliged, following the ancient usage, to draw up a record of all complaints and demands for reform. The demands closely resembled one another, inasmuch as they concerned the general government of the kingdom (the resemblance was the more marked because the assemblies had received models of such records, a part of which they copied). The three orders were agreed in considering the States-General as an assembly charged with representing the nation; all demanded a reform in the finances and a written constitution, to assure the rights of the nation, and to limit the power of the government. The third estate also demanded the abolition of the privileged classes and that the three orders should be united in one single assembly, where the vote should be by person or individual.

The government took no measures for the purpose of regulating the conduct and prerogatives of the assembly. The 5th of May, 1789, the states were opened at Versailles, but nothing had been decided as to the matter or the manner of the deliberations.

The National Assembly.—The contest arose between the two parties on a question of form. The government, following ancient usage, had ordered that the three orders should sit separately; the third estate would not allow the establishment of that separation; for, if the three orders were once organized separately, the Assembly would have to vote by orders. It refused, therefore, to begin its deliberations until the manner of taking the votes should be settled; the clergy and the nobility refused to unite with the deputies of the third estate and the government seemed to be more and more inclined to sustain them. This régime of inactivity lasted for six weeks.

The third estate put an end to it by deciding on two rules of conduct:

The 12th of June it declared that it was possible to do without the aid of the deputies from the other orders, for it represented the nation; and it gave itself the name of the National Assembly. That was to declare, that the right of deliberating in the name of the French people belonged to the representatives of the third estate. It invited the members of the two privileged orders to come and sit in the National Assembly with the right to an equal vote.

The 20th of June, the government having ordered the hall closed, where the third estate was assembled, the representatives went to the place known as the "tennis court" and swore never to separate until the constitution of the kingdom should be established and fixed on a firm foundation." This was simply a declaration that the Assembly could not be dissolved by the king. The third estate was becoming a sovereign and independent power. The government then decided to present a programme of the subjects for deliberation; this was done at the sitting, in the presence of the king.

June 28th the king proposed to reform the taxes and to preserve the privileges: "The king wishes that the ancient distinctions in the three orders be conserved in their entirety, as essentially bound up in the constitution of the kingdom." The third estate found this programme insufficient and began a revolt against the king by refusing to withdraw from the hall after the declaration had been read.

Then took place a conflict between two powers. The government decided to support the privileged classes.

It had tradition and material force on its side. But it was disorganized and it felt itself abandoned by public opinion. Paris, too, sided with the Assembly. The privileged classes were not united, the priests and the petty nobility supported the demands of the third estate and took their seats with that order. The king himself yielded; he commanded that the remainder of the privileged orders should sit in the National Assembly.

Taking of the Bastille.—The government still had force on its side. It could use the army to dissolve the Assembly. The royalists advised Louis XVI. so to employ it, and the partisans of the Revolution feared lest this should be done. The government, in fact, brought troops to Versailles, then wished to have them taken to Paris where there was extreme disorder.

The harvest in 1788 had been very poor; Paris was full of famished creatures and of bands of malefactors who had come in from their retreats in the vicinity. The workmen in the two suburbs, St. Antoine and St. Marceau, had joined the opposition to the government.

The Parisians feared violence and they prevented the entrance of the royal troops. Then they organized for defence. There was, in Paris, near the entrance to the suburb St. Antoine, a fortress—the Bastille—which served as a state prison. The people arrested through the "lettres de chachet" were confined in it; many writers had been detained there. At this moment in the reign of Louis XVI. there were but few prisoners and the garrison was composed of some retired soldiers and several Swiss guards. But the rôle which it had played had made it particularly odious as the symbol of arbitrary and despotic power.

The Parisians, as soon as they were armed, moved on the Bastille. The whole Parisian army had been reduced to two regiments; one was that of the French guards, which had been for a long time in the midst of the Parisians and which mingled with the crowd, in place of fighting with it. So the population of Paris laid siege to the royal fortress and one of the chiefs who led the attack was a subordinate officer of the royal regiment of the French guards.

The governor capitulated, the Bastille was taken and demolished instantly; the people danced upon the site.

The taking of the Bastille had no importance in itself, but it was hailed as a great victory by the partisans of the Revolution. It signified that the people of Paris had conquered by force the royal government. The king, indeed, felt that he had been vanquished; he was with the Assembly at Versailles the 14th of July; the next morning he went in person to the Assembly and made the following declaration: "Counting upon the fidelity of my subjects, I have ordered the troops to leave Paris and Versailles. I authorize you, invite you, even, to make this arrangement known at the capital." Then he withdrew; the Assembly arose and followed him as far as the palace amid the joyous cries of the crowd.

The king relinquished the employment of the army against Paris and against the Assembly. At the same time the Parisians took arms and organized themselves into a National Guard under the command of a partisan of the Assembly, Lafayette; the power passed from the king to the Assembly. The Assembly, defended by the Parisians, became the only veritable sovereign. This was the reason why the time of the seizure of the Bastille was taken as

the official date for the beginning of the Revolution. The 14th of July, 1789, was made the starting-point of the Year One of liberty.

The Night of August 4.—From the date of the seizure of the Bastille the government throughout France was completely demoralized. There was no longer a police force to maintain order, bands of marauders scoured the country for the purpose of pillage. The inhabitants of the towns organized themselves into national guards for their own defence. In the country, especially in the east, the peasants, on learning that the Assembly had proclaimed liberty, took it upon themselves to establish it in their own way. The burdens which weighed most heavily on them were the rents and the "corvées" which they owed to the lords and which were called feudal rights. They went around attacking the châteaux, taking possession of the rolls (registers of rents) and the archives, and setting them on fire. In several places the château was pillaged and the seignior maltreated or threatened with injury.

The Assembly, informed of these disorders, charged a committee to draw up a legal project for the safety of the kingdom. This project was discussed in a sitting which began at eight o'clock on the evening of August 4. It was a question of "arresting the excitement in the provinces, of assuring to them political liberty, and of confirming the proprietors in their veritable rights." Several seigniors proposed that the communes should redeem the feudal rights and that personal servitude and the "corvées" should be abolished without any indemnity. A Breton deputy proceeded to say that the people had burned the châteaux to destroy the feudal rights and that it was necessary to recognize the "injustice of those rights which

were acquired in the benighted times of ignorance." This speech excited the Assembly; several members of the privileged orders came in turn offering to sacrifice their privileges.

The Assembly welcomed these offers with enthusiasm; successively it decided to abolish all the inequalities among the citizens and in the provinces. In this manner were abolished all the privileges in regard to the offices, the seigniorial justice, the rights of the chase, and the dove-cote; mortmain, the tithes, the privileges of the districts, cities and villages, the purchase of place and the corporations.

A medal was struck, "to commemorate the sincere unity of all the orders, the renunciation of all the privileges, and the ardent devotion of all individuals for public peace and prosperity."

The night of August 4, in one move, destroyed all the institutions which maintained a separation of the classes. It permitted the reconstruction of a new society on the principle of equality.

The decisions on the principles set forth on that night were written in a decree which begins thus: "The National Assembly entirely destroys the feudal régime."

End of the Old Régime.—The old régime was characterized by three salient traits:

1. The king held power complete, and without control; he was an absolute sovereign.

2. The inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into classes having unequal rights.

3. The government was carried on according to old, complicated, confused and barbarous rules.

The Assembly, in taking away the power of the king and in abolishing privileges, destroyed the absolute sov-

ereignty of the king and the inequality among the inhabitants. Then it undertook the construction of the whole government on a simple and uniform plan.

It had given itself the task of regenerating the kingdom. It began the work by destroying ancient France. Before going to the work of reconstruction it wanted to clear off the ground, to abolish the ancient institutions rather than to reform them. All the usages pointed out as abuses in the registers of the states were therefore suppressed. At the head of the new constitution was placed this formal declaration:

"The National Assembly wishing to establish the French constitution on the principles which it has just recognized, abolishes irrevocably the institutions which were injurious to liberty and to an equality of rights.

"There is neither nobility, nor peerage, nor hereditary distinctions, nor distinctive orders, nor feudal régime, nor patrimonial judges, nor any titles, denominations and prerogatives which are derived from them, nor any order of chivalry . . . nor any superiority except that of public officials in the exercise of their functions.

"There is neither purchasability nor heredity attached to any public office.

"There is not for any part of the nation, nor for any individual, any privilege or exception to the rights which are common to all Frenchmen.

"There are neither wardenships nor corporations in the professions, arts, and trades.

"The law recognizes no religious vows nor any engagement which would be contrary to natural rights or to the constitution."

From 1790 the old institutions, the council of the

king, the council of state, intendants, parlements, tribunals, farming of taxes—all had ceased their operations. The domains of the clergy had been declared to be national possessions. Nothing more remained of the old régime.

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF THE REVOLUTION

The Principles of 1789.—The Constituent Assembly, before making laws for "regenerated France," decided, at the demand of Lafayette, to proclaim the principles upon which it intended to found the new society. This was the object of the Declaration of the Rights of Man which, after long discussions, was published in October, 1789. Here are some of the important articles:

"Men are born and remain free and equal in their rights.

"The rights are liberty, ownership of property, security, and resistance to oppression. Liberty consists in being able to do anything which is not injurious to another.

"The principle of all sovereignty rests in the nation.

"Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to coöperate personally or through their representatives in the formation of laws. The law should be the same for all.

"All citizens being equal in the eyes of the law are equally admissible to all dignities and public offices according to their probity and talents.

"No man can be accused, arrested, or detained in prison except in cases determined by law, and according to the forms prescribed by the law.

"No one is to be molested on account of his opinions,

even those on religion, provided that their manifestation does not trouble the public order as prescribed by law. Every citizen can speak, write, and publish with perfect freedom.

"The common contribution must be equally apportioned among the citizens according to their ability.

"Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally certified, evidently demands it, and then only on condition of a just and previously arranged indemnity."

The principle of the Revolution is that the nation is sovereign, that all its members have equal rights, but that all are free, and should be protected in person and in property, even against the government. Its device is: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Changes in the Social Order.—All inequalities had disappeared; the law no longer made any difference between Frenchmen. The law admitted no privilege in the matter of taxation, or in primogeniture, or in the rights of one proprietor over another. The nobility was no longer recognized by the law. All offices were open to all, without distinction of birth, and the greater number were given to the third estate. Indeed most of the men who have governed France in the nineteenth century have been neither noble, nor even people of the upper third estate.

Changes in the Economic Order.—The lands of the peasants, released from the seigniorial rights and from the taille, have increased in value. The national possessions, formed from the domains of the clergy ceded to the nation in 1789, and the confiscated lands of the "emigrés" have been sold; one-third of the lands of France

have passed into the hands of the small proprietors.[1] Industry has become entirely free, each one can manufacture whatever he pleases and in the way he pleases. Commerce is free, there are no longer any monopolies, or any restrictions on sales. Taxes are apportioned equally among the inhabitants, according to their wealth. The "Constituent Assembly" replaced the taille by the tax on real estate, which is laid upon the lands and houses of the owners without any distinction; the capitation, by the tax on person and furniture (house tax). It suppressed the indirect tax on beverages (the aides). Napoleon reestablished them under the name of excise tax, but the state did not farm them out to individuals, they were collected by the government officials. The budget is regulated each year in advance, so that the expenditures and receipts may be balanced. No sum can be paid by the treasury except on a regular warrant. The creditors of the state are sure of regularly drawing the interest on their money, all the debts of the state are inscribed on the Great Register of the Public Debt. It was begun in 1793 so that one could distinguish between the debts contracted by the republic and those of "despotism."

Political Changes.—The Revolution had established the principle that the nation only is sovereign. But as the nation cannot itself govern, from this principle have come very different systems, according as the sovereign nation has delegated the government to a king assisted by a parlement, to a single assembly, or to an emperor. (Napoleon I., the most absolute monarch ever seen in France, had only taken the title of emperor after having appealed to

[1] It is possible that there are to-day in France as many large landowners as before 1789. They have been formed since 1800.

the people and demanded it from them; this kind of monarchy was not contrary to the principles of the Revolution.)

The Revolution created a form of administration regular as a machine. Each of the departments of the state led to a ministry which received all communications and issued all the orders. The number of these varies, because certain departments are sometimes detached from, sometimes united under, one minister, but the departments are unchangeable. They are: administration, justice, finances, foreign affairs, war, navy, commerce, agriculture, religion, education, fine arts, public works. Whoever exercises any function in France is dependent on the minister to whom his function corresponds. In order to make a more systematic division of authority, uniform limitations applying to all the departments have been established. The whole of France has been divided into departments, the departments into districts, the districts into cantons, and the cantons into communes. Each functionary exercises his authority within the limits of these divisions. The department has its prefect, treasurer, and court of assize; the arrondissement has its deputy-prefect, collector, and tribunal. All the departments are completely centralized and organized on a uniform plan. The functions and duties of the officials are the same throughout France. The officials may be sent from one end of the country to the other. The same orders are given to them and all under the form of circulars. There is no longer any differences of administration in the various districts of France; the least details may be regulated in a uniform manner by the ministry in Paris. The centralization begun by the kings has thus been completed. No other

country in the world has gone as far as France in this direction.

The Constituent Assembly had given over the administration to chosen councils; each commune had its common council, each district and each department had its directory.

The judiciary has been remodelled. The custom of the old régime has been kept, that of having the judgment pronounced by a body (every tribunal is composed of at least three judges). But the judges are no longer proprietors of their office; they are only functionaries of the government. The Constituent Assembly ordered that they should be chosen by the inhabitants and for a period of several years. In the place of the petty seigniorial tribunals there is in each canton a justice of the peace, whose duty is to try to conciliate the parties and to prevent them, if possible, from going to law. Criminal justice is no longer rendered by the tribunals but is a function of the court of assizes, which is organized on the model of the English jury-system; twelve jurors taken from among the citizens of the department decide whether the accused is guilty, and a magistrate presides over the debates and pronounces sentence. The public and oral procedure of the Middle Ages has been reëstablished, the accused has once more the right to have his case pleaded by an advocate. The Constituent Assembly abolished all the customs peculiar to the provinces. In all the courts justice must be rendered according to the same rules. Justice has become gratuitous; that is to say, not that the suits cost nothing, but only that the judges must receive nothing from the litigants. The Revolution changed even the relations of church and state. The Constituent Assembly had decreed the civil organization

of the clergy, which suppressed the dioceses and established chosen bishops. The Convention did away with the Christian Church and wanted to set up the worship of the Supreme Being. Then it set forth the principle of liberty in worship and of the complete separation of church and state. "No one can be hindered from practising, in conformity to the laws, the worship that he has chosen; no one can be forced to contribute to the expenses of any other worship." The republic pays the salary of no church official.

The Written Constitutions.—The partisans of the Revolution reproached the old régime more on account of its arbitrary government. They desired that henceforth the powers of the government should be fixed by a written law, similar to the laws which regulated the relations of private individuals. The resolutions of the States-General asked for a written constitution and the deputies regarded each other as charged with the service of writing it. The Assembly took the name Constituent.

An Englishman, Arthur Young, who was travelling in France, thought that the idea of making a constitution was very ridiculous. "They fancy there is a recipe for making a constitution just as there is for a black pudding." Young was accustomed to regard the political constitution in England as civil law resting on the ancient customs respected by all the English people. But in France no real tradition existed. A law in writing was the only barrier they could imagine against the despotism of the government.

Since the first constitution (1791) France has often changed the form of government, but never has she remained without a written constitution. Gradually all

other civilized peoples (England excepted) have also adopted the custom of writing their constitutions.

The Constitution of 1791.—The National Assembly took an oath that it would not separate until it had drawn up a constitution. This work occupied two years and the Constitution was promulgated in 1791. The king took an oath to obey it.

The Constitution of 1791 was the work of the party which had brought about the Revolution. They did not want to do away with royalty, but they were suspicious of the powers which up to that time had dominated in society and in the government. They feared the aristocrats—that is to say, all the hereditary bodies and despotism—that is to say, the royal authority; besides, they admitted, as a rule, the theory of the separation of the different powers, which theory had been made popular by Montesquieu.[1]

Therefore this fundamental principle was set down, that "the sovereignty belongs to the nation." (This was the destruction of the foundations of the old monarchy where the only sovereign was the king.) But "the nation from which all these powers emanate cannot exercise them except by proxy." Authority is then to be entirely exercised through representatives. It was admitted that the king represented the nation by virtue of an hereditary right and that he had the right to choose his ministers. All the other authorities had to be elected. But they did not wish to give the right of suffrage to all the inhabitants. It was decided that to be an elector one must pay a tax

[1] Montesquieu, following the English jurists, believed that in England the authority was really divided between the king and the Parliament; that the king had the executive power, and the Parliament the legislative; to these powers he had added the judiciary, which idea had been furnished him by the parlements of France.

equal to the value of three days' labor. The citizens were thus divided into two classes, active citizens (the electors) and passive citizens (those who were deprived of the suffrage).

According to the theory of Montesquieu three powers were created—executive, legislative, and judicial. The judicial power was delegated to judges, chosen by the people for a term of years. The executive power was "delegated to the king in order to be exercised by the ministers under his authority." The legislative power was delegated to an assembly of chosen representatives. Two questions were vigorously discussed: 1. Was it necessary to give the legislative power to two assemblies as in England, or to one alone? 2. Was it necessary to take the ministers from the Assembly as in England, or outside of that body?

Experience has, for more than a century, proved that a single assembly is tempted in a moment of excitement to take measures of which it afterwards repents, and all the civilized states have finally come to the system of having two assemblies. But at the close of the eighteenth century no country had yet had such an experience, and it seemed strange to create a power with two heads,[1] The most distinguished American statesman, Benjamin Franklin, made sport of the system. "A serpent," said he, "had two heads and desired to go for a drink, but there was water in two directions, one of the heads wanted to go to the right, the other wanted to go to the left, the serpent remained on the spot and died of thirst." Moreover, those who demanded a second assembly thought of it only as an aristocratic hereditary body like the House of Lords,

[1] England and the United States must be excepted.—Ed.

and the Constituent Assembly did not want to destroy one aristocracy in order to constitute another. Therefore it adopted the system of a single assembly. Likewise, experience has proved that a minister, taken outside of the Assembly, has not the influence over it necessary to the welfare of the government, and that conflicts without issue are produced between the government and the Parliament; while the ministers taken from the majority in the House, naturally have its support and confidence. But in 1789 the doctrine of the separation of the powers hindered the giving of the government into the hands of the representatives of the people. It would have been necessary to unite in the same hands the executive and the legislative powers. A trial of it had been made in England and the system had been condemned. Many Englishmen then attributed to this custom the parliamentary corruption which reigned in their country; the ministers, in order to have the support of the majority, purchased the representatives by granting favors to them, and the king could be tempted to purchase the chiefs of the opposition by the offer of a place in the ministry. In vain did Mirabeau supplicate the Constituent Assembly not to take away from the king the power of appointing the ministers from the members of the Assembly. That in itself was one more reason for the decision that the ministers must not be chosen from among the representatives. It was feared that Mirabeau might become a minister, and his relations with the king had begun to be a subject of distrust. In order to complete the separation of the powers it was decided that the ministers should not be permitted to speak in the Assembly on any subject not within the province of their functions.

The part which the king should have in the legislative power was the cause of much discussion. Should he have the right to reject a law which had been voted by the Assembly? The royalists demanded that he should have an absolute veto; the right to annul the law. The enemies of royalty did not wish to leave any legislative power in the hands of the king. A compromise was agreed upon. The constitution gave to the king a suspensive veto, that is, the right to stay a law during two legislative periods.

Thus the government was confided to the care of three powers which were so organized that each was independent of the other. The Constituent Assembly had wanted to respect the doctrine of the division of power, it feared the encroachments of the executive, that is, of a king accustomed to despotic rule, and it was determined to weaken this branch and to restrain it within well-defined limits. The result was that all authority was taken away from the ministry. The sole veritable power was found in the Assembly.

In matters of administration the Constituent Assembly gave to the electors in each district the right to choose their administrators. But as much distress had been caused by functionaries who were too powerful (intendants and subdelegates), the assembly was not willing to put a single official in control, and all the degrees of authority were put in charge of corporate bodies, a *municipality* in the communes, and a *directory* in the departments and districts. Along with these executive bodies were established deliberative boards or *councils*. To these local authorities was given not only the power to regulate the affairs of their districts, but to set and levy the taxes and to recruit the National Guard. In this manner the communes of

France became so many petty and almost independent republics.

The fear of oppression, on the part of the king and the ministers, was the cause of great concern to the Constituent Assembly. Therefore it organized the government so that the superiority of the Assembly over the executive was assured, and the provinces were rendered almost independent of the central authority. The constitution of 1791 created a central government, weak almost to impotency, and the local powers were strengthened almost to the verge of anarchy. Besides, the Constituent Assembly in deciding that none of its members would be eligible for the Assembly, obliged the electors to send inexperienced representatives.

The Constitution of 1793.—The Constitution of 1791 still retained the king and the ministers. Enfeebled as they were, they tried to protest against the legislative assembly that wanted to exercise all the power. The special question concerned the priests and the émigrés. The Assembly regarded them as enemies and passed laws in regard to them to which the king opposed his veto. During this contest a republican party was formed, few in numbers, but which, with the aid of the suburbs of Paris, took possession of the Tuileries and forced the Assembly to proclaim the dethronement of the king and to convoke a new assembly, the Convention (August 10, 1792).

The Convention took the government in hand and ruled by means of committees chosen from among the members. It had to make over a constitution without a king. This was the Constitution of 1793, drawn up rapidly by a committee, and without a long discussion, voted upon by the Convention.

Its authors were disciples of Rousseau. They started from the principle that the people alone is sovereign, and should directly exercise the sovereignty. The people meant all men of twenty-one years and over (for the difference between active and passive citizens had been abolished in 1792). The electors were to be gathered in primary assemblies not only for the purpose of choosing their representatives but to deliberate on the laws.

The Assembly was replaced by a legislative body, chosen for one year only, which had not the right to make the laws, but only to propose them. It was the primary assemblies which accepted the laws, and they were considered to have been accepted when in half the departments plus one there could not be found one out of ten assemblies protesting against the acceptance. Instead of the ministry an executive council was created. It consisted of twenty-four members and was chosen by the House of Deputies from a list drawn up by the primary assemblies.

This constitution set aside, at the same time, the central government and the Assembly, and invited all the citizens to oppose the legal authority. "When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is, for the people and for each portion of the people, the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties."

As France was at this time invaded by the armies of all Europe, and had need of a strong government for its defence, it was agreed that the constitution should not be put into operation until after the end of the war. It had no time to perform its functions; the war was still going on when the party which had drawn up the document was overthrown and dismissed from power.

The Constitution of the Year III.—The Convention, before separating, had, therefore, to make a new constitution. It was engrossed with the effort to avoid the defects of the Constitution of 1791, and especially to prevent the arrival at power of the royalist party.

The constitution took away all authority from the primary assemblies, which were restricted to the privilege of designating the electors who were to choose the deputies. The electors were required to possess property yielding a revenue of about 200 francs.

The constitution abandoned the system of the single assembly and established two councils, the Five Hundred, which proposed the laws; the Ancients (250 members), which approved them. No law could be adopted except by the agreement of the two assemblies. Both were elective, but to avoid sudden changes, only one-third of the members were elected each year. Moreover, to maintain the republican party in power it was decided that, in the first legislature, there should be at least two-thirds of the former members of the Convention.

The executive power was given to a Directory, made up of five members chosen by the Council of the Ancients from a list of ten candidates presented by the Five Hundred. One new member was elected each year. The Directory named the ministers, generals, ambassadors, and held sittings in full dress in order to receive petitions. But to remain faithful to the idea of the division of power they continued to keep the executive power apart from the assemblies, the ministers could not be taken from among the deputies, the Directory had no right to propose any laws.

The two powers had no means of operating over one

another. When they entered into dispute they found themselves led to employ violent measures. The Directory twice set aside the elections to the councils, and the constitution was at last no longer respected by any party.

CHAPTER VI

CONTEST OF THE REVOLUTION WITH EUROPE

The Conflict Between the Revolution and the European States.—In 1789 France was at peace with all the states of Europe. There were at that time five great powers: two in the West, France and England; two in the centre, Austria and Prussia; one in the East, Russia. They were separated by small weak states which the great powers were striving to appropriate or to dominate. Austria wished to acquire Bavaria in exchange for Belgium, Prussia wished to prevent the change.

Russia desired to rule Poland, Austria and Prussia preferred to dismember it.

Austria and Russia agreed to divide the Turkish empire between themselves; Prussia did not wish to permit the aggrandizement of Austria.

England wanted to rule upon the sea. She claimed to have the right, in time of war, to take into custody the ships of neutral nations found on the seas, and to force them to submit to an examination in order to prove that they had no merchandise, belonging to the hostile nation, concealed on board. This pretension brought her into conflict with the maritime states of the North—Denmark, Sweden and Russia—which, together with France and Spain, demanded liberty on the high seas.

There were causes of conflict, therefore, between all

the great powers. All had made war upon one another during the eighteenth century. Divided in their interests they were not united on any common principle. Each one chose allies according to the interests of the moment. The system of the ancient alliances had been overthrown by the Seven Years' War, when France had given aid to Austria, her old enemy, against her former ally, the King of Prussia. No other system could have been set up; the states were all suspicious of one another; they could not unite in any common movement.

France found herself in a very advantageous situation; she was engaged in none of the principal conflicts; she was in possession of a territory sufficiently large and perfectly united; she had along her whole frontier only small or feeble states (Belgium, the German electorates, the kingdom of Sardinia, Spain) which could not make war upon her, but served her as a buffer in a collision with the great states. It was, therefore, easy for her to maintain peace. This was the policy of Vergennes, the minister of Louis XVI. for foreign affairs. It was also the policy of Mirabeau and Talleyrand. The Constituent Assembly, after a solemn discussion, adopted it. May 12, 1790, it voted the following declaration: "The French nation renounces the idea of undertaking any war with the prospect of making conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberty of any people."

This declaration was inserted in the Constitution of 1791. But it did not depend on the Assembly to maintain harmony with the governments of Europe. The Revolution was in itself an act of hostility against absolute monarchies. The "rights of man," which were proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly, were not only the rights of Frenchmen

but of all men. France set the example in recognizing these rights in her citizens; she expected that the other nations would do as she had done. She did not desire to employ her force against the liberty of the peoples, but it was very difficult for her not to help them in their efforts to obtain liberty. In the adjacent countries the subjects who were discontented with their governments began to hope for deliverance, and many Frenchmen encouraged them, as they did not see why the reign of liberty should stop at the frontier of France.

The first conflict took place with the pope in regard to the inhabitants of Avignon, who had revolted and asked to be annexed to France, another was with the emperor on account of the German princes, proprietors of the seigniories in Alsace, who were protesting against the abolition of their seigniorial rights. The Constituent Assembly yielded on the question of Avignon; but it maintained the right of the Alsatian people to be freed from their seigniors. "The Alsatian people," said the report presented to the Assembly, "were united to the French people because the nation so desired; it was that will alone, and not the Treaty of Münster, which legitimatized the union." This was establishing the public right on a new principle, the will of the sovereign people, while the other governments recognized only inheritance and the contracts between kings, without taking into account the will of the subjects.

There was no conciliation between these diametrically opposed principles, but more direct motives were necessary in order to bring on a war. The great mass of the French nation did not desire it, and the monarchies of Europe needed to be reconciled among themselves before acting in common against the revolutionists. In 1790 the

King of Prussia had gathered an army in Silesia for the purpose of attacking Austria.

The War.—Two years were necessary in which to bring about a war in Europe. Two parties, both French, produced it. A party of French nobles, displeased with the Revolution, emigrated to Germany and stirred up the governments in order to induce them to send armies into France for the deliverance of Louis XVI. who was a prisoner of the people of Paris and of the Assembly. The friends of the Republic, on their side, urged on the war so as to compromise Louis XVI. whom they believed to be the secret ally of the foreign sovereigns. The Emperor Leopold, whom the émigrés at first sought to influence, did not desire war, but he did not wish to openly break with the French refugees, whose leader was the brother of Louis XVI., the Count d'Artois. He happened to be at the Château of Pilnitz, in Saxony, in company with the King of Prussia and the Elector of Saxony when the Count d'Artois came to ask for his support and to lay before him the plan of the campaign against France. The sovereigns decided not to take part in this adventure, but in order to satisfy the émigrés, they consented to publish a manifesto in favor of the reëstablishment of order and of the monarchy in France (August 27, 1791). Therein it was said that the emperor and the King of Prussia hoped that the other powers of Europe would not refuse to help them in this restoration. "Then, and in that case," they added, "Their Majesties, the emperor and the King of Prussia, have resolved to act promptly in mutual accord, and with the necessary forces to obtain together the proposed result." The two sovereigns counted, indeed, upon the refusal of the other powers to intervene, and that they

themselves would consequently be released from all engagement since they had promised to act only in case the others would do so. "These words: *then, and in that case,* are for me the Law and the Prophets," wrote Leopold. This manifesto of Pilnitz was thus only an "august comedy," as Mallet-Dupan said. But the émigrés took care to present it to the public as a formal promise. A letter from the princes was published wherein it was stated: "The powers whose aid they have asked are determined to employ all their forces in giving it, and the emperor and the King of Prussia have just contracted a mutual engagement to that effect."

The partisans of the Revolution took the declaration of the émigrés literally, and became used to the idea that the sovereigns of Europe had formed a coalition for the purpose of forcing France to restore the old régime. From 1791 the Assembly was occupied in strengthening the army, which had not been increased since 1789. Besides the former soldiers who wore the white uniform, they created the *volunteers* with a blue uniform.

The Legislative Assembly, composed partly of young deputies, was soon controlled by the republican party (the Girondists and the Club of the Cordeliers of Paris), who desired war that royalty might be overthrown. "A people, who, after ten centuries of slavery, has won its liberty, has need of war," said Brissot, "to confirm that liberty, to be purged from the vices of despotism, to banish from its bosom the men who would be capable of destroying it."

The émigrés were then settled on the left bank of the Rhine in the states of the Elector of Cologne, where they had formed a small army whose headquarters were at

Coblentz. The Assembly demanded that Louis XVI. should have the émigrés expelled. Louis XVI. and his minister for war, Narbonne, did not fear a short war with the Elector of Cologne, for it would have the advantage of giving strength to the army. But it was to the emperor that the demand was addressed, asking him to summon the ecclesiastical electors to send away the émigrés. The emperor refused, and the Legislative Assembly declared war against him.

So that France began the war against the European sovereigns without being directly threatened by an invasion. But it is certain that the sovereigns looked upon the France of the Revolution as a danger for Europe, and they would have liked to see the restoration there of the old régime. February 7, 1792, the emperor and the King of Prussia had signed a treaty of "friendship and defensive alliance"; the 17th they wrote to the King of France: "Europe would have permitted the peaceful accomplishment of reform (in France) if the crimes against all laws, human and divine, had not forced the powers to act in concert for the maintenance of public peace and for the safety of their crowns." In this first war of 1792, France had as yet opposed to her only the emperor, the King of Prussia, the German princes, the King of Sardinia, and the King of Sweden, Gustavus III., who looked upon the Revolution as an insult to all monarchs.

The operations on both sides were wretched enough. The French army disorganized, demoralized, unskilfully commanded, took to flight at the first encounter and left the frontier open to the enemy.

The Prussian army was able to reach Champagne; but it moved with so much prudence that it dared not march

upon Paris, and fell back on the French army, which Dumouriez had posted in its rear, then withdrew without having made an attack. The French then took the offensive and occupied Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, Savoy, and the county of Nice.

The execution of Louis XVI. made the war general. In 1793 France, having become a republic, had against her, besides the coalition of 1792, England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Italian States—that is, all Europe excepting Switzerland, Denmark and Venice (Catherine of Russia had declared herself to be the enemy of the Revolution, but she refused to send any troops; she said that she kept her soldiers to fight the "Jacobins of Poland." Sweden had withdrawn from the coalition).

It was a sort of crusade against the republicans of France, the enemies of the monarchy and of the church, a crusade to restore the authority of the king and the clergy. But the allies wanted to profit by the occasion for their own aggrandizement at the expense of France, and, as Francis II. of Austria said: "procure for ourselves all the recompense that we have the right to demand." Each sought to conquer a province and to settle there. This caused the failure of the coalition. The forces on the two sides were unequal. The French army had been disorganized. The larger number of the former officers had emigrated. They had found no time to educate new ones. The volunteers had not yet become real soldiers. During the first eight or ten months of 1792 the French were always beaten, and retreated to the frontier. But the allied armies, in place of marching on Paris, separately or together, delayed to subdue the provinces which the foreign sovereigns counted upon appropriating. The gen-

erals, used to manœuvring according to the regulations, would advance only after they had occupied all the strategic points, and stopped to besiege each fortified place.

Thus the French armies were given time to reorganize. At the close of 1793 they had already taken the offensive.

The year 1794 was decisive; the Austrian army was driven from Belgium; the Prussian army withdrew from the war.

Peace with Prussia was signed in 1795,[1] with Austria in 1797[2].

The French Armies.—The Revolution had destroyed the organization of the French army. When France had to sustain a war against the allied powers, the government tried at first to recruit the army by voluntary enlistments, as in 1791, by making an appeal to patriots. The chamber declared that the fatherland was in danger, and offices were opened to receive recruits. In Paris there were eight of them in the public squares, where a magistrate, wearing a tri-colored scarf, was seated upon a platform, and inscribed their names on the roll. The recruits themselves chose their officers. Thus it was hoped that the government would have, in place of the mercenaries, who made war a business, citizen soldiers who would fight from a sense of duty. But the volunteers of 1792 were not numerous enough for the needs of the army. The campaign of 1792 was made by the old soldiers and the volunteers of 1791. In 1793 the Convention adopted the system of obligatory service. "Until the time when the enemies shall have been driven from the territory of the Republic, all Frenchmen are levied en masse for service in the armies." The first requisition of the Conven-

[1] Peace of Basle.—Ed.

[2] Treaty of Campo Formio.—Ed.

tion was for 300,000 men, just as many as was necessary to fill the lists, and the Directory had them sent off at the rate of 100,000 a year. The recruits of 1793 were a mixture of old soldiers and of the volunteers of 1791 and 1792. Carnot and Dubois-Crancé abolished the old regiments and made an amalgamation of the different battalions. All the soldiers were gathered into a single corps, which was uniformed in blue and divided into demi-brigades, or regiments, all alike, each designated by a simple number. There were at that time 198 battalions of the line and 725 battalions of volunteers; 198 demi-brigades of the line were made, and 15 demi-brigades of light infantry. Napoleon revived the name of regiment, but he preserved the system which is in use to-day. The former subaltern officers were made generals in the armies of 1793. Advancement was so rapid that Hoche, departing a sergeant, became a general before the end of the campaign.

In this manner, France had in these wars of the Revolution the advantage of forming, at a small expense, great armies which were composed of soldiers who, for advancement, sought to distinguish themselves in battle.

These improvised soldiers could not manœuvre with the precision of old soldiers. They instinctively adopted new tactics. They fought without regular order, sometimes dispersed as skirmishers, sometimes together rushing upon the enemy crying, "Charge bayonets!" The generals no longer stopped to lay siege to the fortified places, they made a war of invasion. The government sent to the armies neither money, provisions, nor clothing. During the first campaigns the soldiers lacked everything. The men who invaded Holland in mid-winter were not all provided with shoes, many of them had to march in wooden

sabots. To provision the armies, the generals, according to the customs of the time, made requisitions on the inhabitants of the countries that were invaded. In Italy the generals transformed the requisitions into organized pillage. Bonaparte in his famous proclamation of 1796 had said: "Soldiers, you are naked, ill-fed; the government owes you much and can give you nothing. I am going to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. Vast provinces, great cities will be in your power, you will find there riches and honor." In the cities where they arrived the generals levied contributions; they carried off the treasures from the churches, the plate and the works of art belonging to the sovereigns, they even stipulated that pictures should be delivered to them; in this way Bonaparte filled the museums of Paris with pictures taken from the galleries in foreign lands. From 1795 to 1798 pictures worth nearly 2,000,000,000 francs were taken by requisition.

The Revolutionary Propaganda.—The French Revolution, unlike that of England, was not a national revolution. It was made in pursuance of general principles; therefore it took on the form of a religious movement. The Rights of Man which the constitution set forth were not the rights of Frenchmen alone, but those of all men. The revolutionists were not content to have reorganized France according to the principles of 1789; they also wished to revolutionize Europe, to destroy abuses, and to establish everywhere the reign of justice and equality.

At first they hoped that the example of the French people would inspire the other nations. There were, indeed, many admirers of the Revolution to be found among intelligent men, especially in Germany. When

the war began the government declared that it was fighting only "against tyrants," not against the people. When the French armies entered upon the territory of the enemy, the generals declared that they had come to deliver the people from their tyrants. Everywhere they went a revolution was brought about. They abolished feudal rights and privileges, deposed all the authorities, convened in assembly the inhabitants so that they could choose their councils and magistrates, and organized a new government copied from that of France. The common people were treated as friends, but the privileged classes—nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, the "aristocrats," as the Jacobins called them, were all looked upon as enemies. Carnot wrote: "The contributions must be made to bear upon the rich exclusively, the people ought to see in us their liberators."

The Treaties of Basle and of Campo Formio.—The war had been undertaken to subdue the French Republic. From 1794 it was evident that the project was a failure. Some of the allied powers were disgusted with the futile attempt and demanded peace. Prussia made the first advance. She had no interest in the war; the king alone had desired it; the Prussian statesmen finally induced him to return to the policy of Frederick the Great, to maintain peace, and to maintain the influence of Prussia over the states of Northern Germany.

The only country with which the French Republic had continued diplomatic relations was Switzerland. The French agent in Switzerland, Barthélemy, was charged with opening negotiations with the Prussian agents, and the treaty was signed at Basle in Switzerland (1795).

The King of Prussia gave up the domains that he had

held on the left bank of the Rhine. France promised that he should receive an indemnity on the right bank; the treaty did not indicate how this was to be arranged. They purposely did not explain it openly, but both sides understood that the indemnity was to be paid by the ecclesiastical princes. Thus Prussia set the example of destroying the old empire and yielded to France a portion of Germany.

The treaty fixed a line of demarcation, and it was agreed that all the German states to the north of that line should be included in the peace with France. Thus the treaty of Basle cut Germany in two. Southern Germany, united to Austria, remained at war with France. Northern Germany became neutral under the guarantee of Prussia. Spain also signed the treaty of Basle.

France, rid of the war in the North and in Spain, sent all its troops against Austria. The Austrians were attacked at the same time in Southern Germany and in Italy (1796). The attack in Germany was repulsed, but that in Italy was successful. Bonaparte drove out the Austrian armies, occupied all of Northern Italy, invaded Austria by way of the Alps, and marched on Vienna. Austria was forced to ask for peace; Bonaparte signed it, paying no attention to the orders from the Directory. This was the peace of Campo Formio (1797).

The emperor gave up Belgium and the Milanais. In exchange Bonaparte gave him the territory belonging to the republic of Venice, which the French army had occupied in spite of the protestations of the Venetian Senate. As chief of the German Empire, the emperor "recognized the boundaries of France as they were defined by the laws of the French Republic," that is to say, the annexation to France of the left bank of the Rhine. He promised to

call a congress of the German states for the purpose of acknowledging the new frontier, and to arrange for the indemnity to be paid from the right bank of the river. So the emperor pledged himself to the destruction of the empire.

In consequence of this treaty, all the states of the German Empire were convoked at Rastadt to a "Peace Congress of the Empire." The Congress assembled. France sent agents to negotiate a peace, but before the negotiations were ended, Austria had declared war, and had formed a new coalition with England and with the new Czar of Russia (1798).

History of the French Frontier.—The territory of France, completed by the acquisition of the duchy of Lorraine, was in 1789[1] almost the same as in the nineteenth century (until the changes of 1860 and 1871). The French statesmen at that time regarded it as of sufficient size and gave up the idea of increasing it. The rôle of France, they thought, should be to maintain the peace of Europe in defending the petty states against the great powers. France was then surrounded by a belt of small states (the Austrian Low Countries, the three ecclesiastical electorates on the left bank of the Rhine, the Palatinate, the duchy of Baden, Switzerland, the kingdom of Sardinia) which formed a sort of buffer and preserved it in the attacks of the great powers.

The wars of the Revolution put an end to this pacific policy. Beginning with 1792 the French armies had conquered all the adjacent countries (Savoy, the County of Nice, the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium) from the Rhine

[1] In 1789 France was in possession of several isolated fortified towns (in the North, Philippeville and Mariusbourg; in the East, Landau and Sarrelouis), which were taken away in 1815.

to the Alps. They had occupied them almost without resistance. The disorganized governments were not able to defend them, and the inhabitants had welcomed the French gladly, as they had come in the guise of liberators, announcing that their purpose was to destroy all abuses in the governments. A new question arose, What should France do with the countries occupied by her armies? The Convention decided to consult the inhabitants, who alone had the right to regulate their condition. They were required to vote, but by setting aside, as suspected of aristocratic sentiments, all who had occupied offices under the old régime. The people, thus consulted under the direction of the French agents, demanded that their countries should be annexed to France. Every country from the Rhine to the Alps was incorporated in the French Republic (1792).

These acquisitions were soon taken away from France by the allies. But in 1794 the French armies had again occupied them, and again the question arose, What should be done with them? Thus two parties were formed in the government; one, returning to the policy of Louis XVI., found France large enough, and wished to establish peace without delay, in giving up Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. This was the Old Boundary party. France, they said, is exhausted and ruined by war, the French desire peace, and as for the inhabitants of the other countries, since they have been tormented and ruined by French soldiers and functionaries, they no longer desire annexation. The other party had adopted the victorious policy of Richelieu and of Louis XIV.: France, they contended, should extend to her natural frontiers—the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and she

could not cease fighting until she had obtained them. This was the Natural Frontier party, and in favor of war. It carried the day. As the French government had no money to sustain a war, the occupied countries had to bear the expense incurred. The instructions to the commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine were: "It is a general principle in war that armies should live at the expense of the enemy. You are therefore to employ all the means at your disposition in order to have your army furnished in this way with all possible supplies." This system did not make the people of those countries love France, but the government did not think itself obliged to consult those who had already been annexed in order to annex them again. The war alone decided the fate of the countries.

Therefore France annexed all the territory that lay within the limits of the Rhine and the Alps. She took Belgium from Austria, the countries to the south of the Rhine from Holland, which countries the Dutch had held since the seventeenth century, and from the German princes she took all their domains on the left bank of the river Rhine. Geneva was taken from Switzerland, and Savoy and the County of Nice from the King of Sardinia. All these annexations were made under the form of laws,[1] and were ratified by treaties.

The complicated and artificial frontier, which was made by the acquisitions of the French kings, was replaced by a simple and natural frontier, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Jura and the river Rhine.

[1] The Genevese government demanded the annexation of Geneva, but it had held its deliberations, surrounded by a detachment of French soldiers.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

The Constitution of the Year VIII.—The Constitution of the Year III., established by the Convention, did not last for more than four years and a half (1795–1799). It had been planned in such a way as to make for the duration of the Republic by leaving the authority in the hands of the former members of the Convention. But at each election the republicans who left the two councils were replaced by royalist deputies or at least by those who were hostile to the government. When the Directory saw that the majority had turned against it, by means of the coup d'état of Fructidor, aided by a detachment sent from the army in Italy, it got rid of the hostile deputies. Henceforth the constitution was no longer respected, and the two parties sought to obtain, or to hold, the reins of government by illegally setting aside the elections. The population was discontented with the never-ending war, with the bad condition of the highways which were infested by brigands, with the bankrupt condition of commerce, with the persecutions of the priests. It cared nothing for the Republic, but was afraid of the return of the Bourbons, which would have brought back the old régime. The soldiers alone remained attached to the Republic for which they had fought, but they obeyed their generals far more readily than they did the civil government.

The French statesmen felt that the Directory could not maintain itself, and looked about for a general who could be placed at the head of the government. Bonaparte, having become celebrated through his campaigns in Italy and in Egypt, returned to Paris, agreed with the Directory and Council of the Ancients, and had his soldiers expel the Council of the Five Hundred. This was the 18th of Brumaire (1799). The Constitution of the Year III was destroyed, a commission was charged with drawing up a new one. This was the Constitution of the Year VIII. It was according to the desires of Bonaparte. France remained a republic in name; but the executive power was confided to a first consul, chosen for two years, who appointed all the officials, commanded all the armies, made the treaties of peace and of alliance. He was given two assistant consuls who were to aid him and who had no authority; in reality the First Consul was an absolute sovereign.

The legislative power remained distinct according to the principle laid down in 1789. Sieyès, who loved complicated mechanism, had divided the labor of making the laws among four different bodies; the Council of State prepared the projects for a law; the Tribunate discussed them; the Corps Législatif (Chamber of Deputies), after having listened in silence to the discussion, voted upon them, the Senate examined them and rejected them if it found that they did not conform to the Constitution. The Council of State and the Senate were appointed by the consuls; the Tribunate and the Chamber were formed from members chosen by the consuls from lists of notables designated by the electors in a series of superposed elections.

On first view, the authority seemed to be well divided—the executive power between the First Consul and his two colleagues, the legislative power between the consuls and the four law-making bodies. But the two consuls were only figures, the councillors of state and the senators were directly named by the First Consul. It was the Senate that voted the budget and that levied the conscripts for the armies; it could, besides, as the constitution declared, order the decrees which took the place of laws. Even the Tribunate and the Chamber, which apparently was recruited by elections, depended on the choice of the government. All this complicated apparatus served only to conceal the absolute authority of the First Consul.

Bonaparte came forward only as the representative of the French people; he declared that the nation alone is the sovereign. Every time that he modified the constitution he submitted the changes to a vote of the electors. But this appeal was never anything but a ceremony. From 1800 Bonaparte was the absolute master of France. That was the meaning of the Constitution of the Year VIII.

The Empire.—The rule of the Consulate lasted four years. In 1802 Bonaparte had himself named Consul for life. But authority for life and the title of Consul were no longer sufficient for him. At first he had not dared to suppress the republican forms, believing that the French people cared about them; the greater number of the high officials were formerly members of the Convention; he had even kept the republican calendar and the appellation "citizen." But after the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, in 1803, he desired to make his power hereditary in order to discourage any attempt to assassinate, and he wished to have a title that would enable him to

treat with the sovereigns of Europe as their peer. The Senate proposed the title of Emperor, which was declared hereditary in his family. This was the Constitution of 1804. The name of French Republic was preserved until 1808, then replaced by the name Empire.

The structure of the government demanded by the Constitution of the Year VIII was gradually simplified. In 1802 Napoleon found that some of the tribunes spoke out too freely, and he obliged them to leave the Tribunate. Then he suppressed the Tribunate itself, by fusing it with the Chamber of Deputies (1807). The Senate gradually became the real legislative power—the measures which the emperor did not venture to take by a simple edict were promulgated under the form of a decree of the Senate.

Napoleon wanted to give to the new monarchy an exterior splendor which would make it resemble the ancient monarchies. He broke away from the republican forms and returned to the usages of the European kingdoms. He reëstablished the court, and surrounded his wife with ladies of honor. He gave great entertainments, and sought to set up again the etiquette of the old French court. He sent for Madame Campan, who had attended Marie Antoinette, and ordered that the information that she could give concerning the usages of the court of Louis XVI. should be noted down. Having been present at a ceremony in Germany, when the people of the court had passed before the King of Bavaria, stopping to make a profound bow, or courtesy, he wished that the same reverence should be shown at his court. During the sojourn of the court at Fontainebleau the emperor issued this regulation: Each of the princes and the grand digni-

taries must in turn give a reception, and the form of this reception was regulated. On fixed days hunting parties should be given, and the ladies were to be present in the costume prescribed. This court had been improvised from the generals and their wives, almost all born in the ranks of the people, and who felt themselves out of place in the midst of all this luxury and ceremony. "At that time," said Madame de Rémusat,[1] "everything had really to be made over. The freedom of the Revolution had banished all the ceremony of politeness from society. No one knew any more how to bow on approaching another, and all of us who were ladies at court discovered suddenly that how to courtesy was a point greatly lacking in our education. Despréaux, who had been dancing-master to the queen, was sent for and gave each one of us lessons."

The only experienced courtiers were the old lords and grand dames of the royal court, who had returned from foreign lands and had consented to appear at the imperial court. Napoleon sought for them, in order to have them fill the functions of chamberlains and of ladies-in-waiting. "It is only such people who know how to be of service," said he.

He soon found that he could not have a monarchy without a nobility, and he created an imperial nobility (1806). He took again the ancient titles of prince, duke, count, and baron, omitting that of marquis, which Molière had rendered so ridiculous;[2] he also resumed the custom of primogeniture, that is, of inalienable domains passing

[1] Lady-in-waiting to the empress.

[2] Under the Restoration many families of the imperial nobility asked to be permitted the title of marquis to conceal their origin and to become part of the old nobility.

from eldest son to eldest son. He gave titles to the generals and to the head officials, also to members of the Institute. The dukes received in addition a dowry, almost all formed at the expense of the Italian towns from which they had taken their names (the Duke of Rovigo, of Treviso, of Feltre, etc.). These titles were hereditary. Napoleon pretended, however, to have done a democratic work. "I set up a monarchy," said he, "in creating an hereditary class; but I stand by the Revolution, because my nobility is not exclusive. My titles are a sort of civic crown; one can win them through his own efforts."

Measures of Napoleon and the Home Government.—On taking possession of the government Napoleon had said: "The Revolution was settled by the principles which began it. It is ended." "We have finished the romance of the Revolution," he said again; "we must begin the history of it, seeing in it only what is real and possible in the application of its principle." Napoleon assumed from that time, and always assumed, that he was the successor of the Revolution; but the Revolution had been disorderly, and he wanted to restore order.

He began by measures of immediate reparation. The government of the Directory had found France a prey to disorders, produced by civil and foreign wars, and it had not been able to abate them: 1. There was a deficit in the budget, and the country was flooded with paper money. The taxes were paid in assignats, or not paid at all; it was necessary to cover expenses by issuing paper money in ever-increasing quantity; it had reached the sum of forty milliards in assignats—338 francs in assignats were worth one franc in silver. The territorial warrants, with which the Directory had replaced the assignats, had

finally become as depreciated as the money they were to replace. As there was no money to pay the interest on the public debt, the payment of two-thirds was forfeited, and the creditors of the state were reduced to one-third (a funded third), but this third, even, was no longer paid and the credit of France was destroyed. The source of all subsistence was the war contribution levied on the conquered countries. 2. The police had become disorganized. The Directory had reorganized at Paris a system of surveillance over those suspected of sympathy with the monarchy, but there was no police on the highways, and bands of deserters and malefactors formed companies of brigands who stopped and attacked the stage-coaches. 3. The clergy and the nobles had been persecuted; the Directory, without prohibiting Catholic worship, had continued to deport the priests, and to shoot the refugees who were returning to France.

Bonaparte restored order to the finances by organizing a treasury. The treasurers were chosen from among men who were solvent, and who were obliged to advance the sums which they were to recover; thus the state had enough coin to pay the debt, and could put an end to the régime of paper money. To restore security on the public roads, troops were sent out, several brigands were shot, and then they set to work to repair the roads. To calm the irritation of the Catholics, Bonaparte left the priests free to return and to celebrate their services. The persecution of the refugees diminished also, but did not cease entirely. A list of the émigrés was made even as late as 1807.

This work of reparation began the very first year. At the same time Bonaparte set about a work of reconstruc-

tion which continued until 1811. He made over all the institutions of France. The work was prepared by the Council of State or by special commissioners; but Bonaparte had confidence in no one; he had all the projects presented to himself, examined them, and decided upon the reforms. The whole organization of the country was remodelled on a plan conformable to the ideas of Napoleon, in which he combined the creations of the assemblies of the Revolution, some traditions of the old régime, and some institutions conceived by himself.

The government remained centralized at Paris; each department, as before 1789, had at the head a minister (the office of Minister of Police was created). The Council of State recovered its authority; as before 1789, it was charged with preparing the acts of the government and of judging the cases of private individuals against the state and against officials.

In the provinces Napoleon preserved the division into departments—arrondissements, cantons, and communes, which was fixed by the Constituent Assembly, but he did not wish to leave the administration to the elective assemblies (which had been the idea during the Revolution). "To rule is the business of one person only," said he, so he returned to the system of intendants, in use during the old régime. In each territorial division he put an agent of the government, named by himself, and removable at his will—prefect in a department, subprefect in an arrondissement, mayor in a commune. For mere form he kept the general council with the prefect, the council of the arrondissement with the subprefect, but these councils were no longer elected, and had no authority; only the municipal council with the mayor remained an elective body. To-

gether with the general administration Napoleon kept the special services, but he reorganized them.

For the judiciary he kept the justices of the peace, the arrondissement tribunals, the assizes, the criminal jury in the departments, the court of appeals—all creations of the Constituent Assembly—but he took from the old régime the courts of appeal, charged with the revision of the judgments of the inferior courts. He did not wish to have the judges elected, and adopted the permanent magistracy of the period before 1789. He restored all the personnel that the Revolution had suppressed, the public prosecutor (with the old names of prosecuting-attorney and deputies), the order of barristers, advocates, clerks, and notaries, giving thus to the corporation of lawyers a greater influence than ever, since the other classes of the old régime were no longer there to counterbalance it.

However, the manner of dispensing justice remained as it was during the Revolution, justice was gratuitous, the procedure was public; and Napoleon did not dare to do away with the jury.

Napoleon also restored the administrative justice of the Council of State and of the Court of Accounts. Officials could not be prosecuted except before the Council of State. In each department was established a Council of the Prefecture.

In the finances, over the district-collectors were the collectors-general, in each department. The taxes were no longer apportioned by elective assemblies, but by government officials.

Napoleon preserved the system of direct taxes, such as he had found established (taxes on real and personal property, individual or poll-tax), and the tax on licenses

or patents by the law of the Constituent Assembly, taxes on doors and windows by the law of the Directory. He created the office of tax-collector, or receiver, for the levying of the impost, and ordered that an official statement be drawn up of the quantity and value of all real property for the purpose of assessing the tax on real estate. He also preserved the customs duties which existed along the frontier. But as the receipts were insufficient he restored the indirect taxes of the old régime. At first he reëstablished the tax on beverages, under the name of excise tax, then on salt, and, finally, the monopoly on tobacco was added to the list (1810).

The credit of France, destroyed by the Revolution, was retrieved. The Great Register of the Public Debt, begun by the Convention, was preserved, but the depreciated paper money of the Revolution was no longer issued. In order to issue a paper currency on a solid basis, Napoleon returned to a procedure already tried under the monarchy—he created the Bank of France. This bank had the privilege of issuing notes, but on the condition that there should be in its coffers a quantity of specie sufficient to guarantee the value of these notes. The bank was a state institution.

The military organization remained in the condition to which it had been brought by the governments of the Revolution, with the division into demi-brigades (only the old name of regiment was resumed), and promotion according to merit and seniority, taking no account of rank by birth. Napoleon formed a troop of picked men —the Guard (consular, afterward imperial). The National Guard itself was kept for home service. The army was recruited on the principle of obligatory service laid

down by the Convention. Napoleon retained the system of conscription adopted by the Directory, but he permitted drawing by lot and the use of substitutes, as was done in the old militia.

As for the police organization, Napoleon went back to the procedure of the old régime. He reappointed a prefect of police in Paris, restored the censorship of the press and the state prisons.

As regards customs, he kept the metric system, created by the Convention, and returned to the calendar of the old régime. He also wanted to establish an order of knights, but in opening it to all without distinction of birth. Thus was formed under an antique name the order of the Legion of Honor. Any one was admitted to the order who had distinguished himself either in war, in his official duties, or in the sciences, arts, and industries. It comprised several degrees, chevalier, officer, commander, etc. Later the imperial nobility was created (1806).

Napoleon also wanted to reorganize and to subject to his authority the church, education, and the press. During the Revolution the church had ceased receiving support from the state: Napoleon reconstructed it on the old basis by making a *concordat* with the pope (1800), which he perfected by the "Fundamental Articles"; these were provisions which the French government set forth, on its own authority, and which it imposed on the French clergy. The Concordat set up a compromise between the church, as the Constituent Assembly would have made it, and the church of the old régime, as before 1789 the church rested not on the French law but on the treaty between France and the pope (the Concordat). The government had the right, just as before 1789, to nominate the bishops, and

the pope had the right to appoint them. But the church gave up its domains, which had become national property. As in the Constitution of 1791, the state was charged with the support of the clergy, so the clergy were obliged to take the oath of the government, and the limits of the dioceses were the same as those of the departments. Catholicism was no longer, as before 1789, the religion of the state. It was characterized as the "religion of the majority of the French people." This arrangement placed the French clergy in the hands of Napoleon. It was necessary, in order to induce the pope to accept it, to threaten the destruction of all that remained of Catholicism in France. Napoleon always looked upon the ecclesiastics as functionaries of the government. He said, "my bishops," just as he said, "my prefects." He dealt cautiously with them in the early years. "You do not know," said he to a councillor of state in 1804, "all that I have brought about by means of the priests, whom I know how to win over to my side. There are in France thirty departments with sufficient religious sentiment so that I would not care to be forced into a contest there, for authority, in opposition to the pope." But beginning with 1808, when he was in open war with the pope, he sought to force the bishops to unite in a council to take his part, removed and arrested those who resisted, and had all the pupils of a seminary enrolled in the army because they had protested against his methods.

The system of education had occupied a large part of the Convention, which had established three grades—primary, secondary, and superior. It had only time to create a few special high schools, some central schools for secondary education, and the Institute, which was to be

at one and the same time a learned body and an establishment for the higher education. Napoleon united all the grades of teaching into a single body, which he called the University (turning aside from its signification the old name). At the head he put a grand-master. France was divided into districts which he called academies, each of which was entrusted to a rector, who had authority over all the personnel. The faculties for the higher education were taken from those of the old régime. He reëstablished the colleges for secondary education, which the bourgeoisie demanded (the colleges of the principal towns were called lycées). He also returned to the system of the boarding-school by adding the use of the uniform and of military discipline. He wished the professors to be bachelors, as was the custom in the old ecclesiastical colleges, and that they should be subject to the authority of the head-master and censor (titles borrowed from the Jesuit colleges). The regulations partook of the convent and barracks. He did nothing for the primary schools, and refused to do anything for the education of women. "Public education does not befit them," said he, "since they are not called to live in public, and marriage is their sole destination."

The press appeared to be a dangerous power in the eyes of Napoleon, and he desired to control it. He began by suppressing all the journals except thirteen, and established a press-bureau in the ministry of police. This bureau had charge of the surveillance of the journals. By threatening the proprietor with the suppression of his newspaper they obliged him to publish only those articles approved by the government. Then Napoleon proceeded to name the directors of the journals, making them function-

aries of the state. "One has the right to exact," he wrote in 1804, "that the journals should be wholly devoted to the reigning dynasty, and that they should oppose everything that would tend to bring back favorable memories of the Bourbons. . . . . Every time that a disagreeable piece of news comes to the government it should not be published until one is so sure of the truth that one need not tell it, for it will be known by everybody." In 1805 he wrote, during the war, to the minister of police: "Restrain the journals a little more; make them put in good articles. Make the editors of the "Journal des Débats" and of the "Publiciste" understand that the time is not far distant when perceiving that they are not useful to me, I shall suppress them along with the others, retaining only one of them. The epoch of the Revolution is ended, there is only one party in France, and I shall never permit my journals to say or do anything opposed to my interests."

In 1807 he ordered the arrest of Guirarel for having written an article for "The Mercury" which was against the liberty of the Gallican Church. "One should not be concerned about the church except in sermons." The "Publiciste" had spoken of the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.). "The next time that he speaks of that individual," said Napoleon, "I shall take away from him the direction of the journal."

Legislation.—The Constituent Assembly had accepted the principle that all France should be subject to the same law. "There shall be made a code of civil law common to the whole kingdom," said the constitution. The principle could not be applied. The representatives from the South were afraid to be deprived of the Roman law and of being subjected to the common law.

The Convention reasserted the principle: "The code of the civil and criminal law is uniform for the whole republic." The 22d of August, 1793, the discussion over this code was begun. A project known as the Code of Cambacérès was voted on, then put into the hands of a commission. This project discussed at three different times, had not yet become a law when Bonaparte came into power.

From 1800 the Council of State was charged with the preparation of a civil code; a commission of jurisconsults was formed which began the discussion; the First Consul was often present at the sessions, listening to the arguments, and giving advice. The commission found the ground prepared for them by the labors of the Convention, and it was able in a short time to present a civil code which was voted on by the Chamber and then promulgated. It was drawn up in a series of numbered articles in order to facilitate research and quotation. It established uniform rules of action for all France. These rules were taken from those in use during the two régimes which had governed the country before 1789; property rights and contracts were regulated according to the principles of Roman law; as for the law concerning the individual and inheritances the custom of Paris was followed; for marriages they retained the regulation for community of goods, taken from the common law, and the dowry regulations as set down in the Roman law. The civil code so rapidly became incorporated into the habits and customs of daily life that the countries which had been annexed asked permission to keep it even after the separation in 1814. The Code Napoleon as it was called has continued in use throughout Belgium, along the left bank of the Rhine, and in

Italy. The other codes were more slowly drawn up. The work was not finished until 1811. France found herself supplied with a complete system of laws, the five codes—civil, commercial, civil procedure, penal, criminal procedure.

In this series of codes legislation had organized France on the basis of the principles of the Revolution. 1. Every part of the country was subject to the same regulations. There was at last the unity of law so long desired by the kings and which they had not been able to establish. 2. The law was the same for all. It no longer recognized any privileges. There was equality before the law; equality of the citizens, who were to be admitted to the same offices, to endure the same burdens, and to be judged by the same rules; equality of children in regard to inheritance, division to be made equally, without regard to sex or age; equality of foreigners, who could do business and inherit property in France just like a French citizen; equality in religious worship; equality in property rights, which could no longer be encumbered by personal servitude. 3. The law protected the liberty of the individual. It gave to the accused the right of being publicly judged by his peers and of being defended by an advocate; it gave to the child complete liberty on arriving at his majority; to the married it gave the right of divorce; it left each one free to choose his own religion, to labor, to cultivate, to manufacture, to transport, to lend money on interest. It was the enactment of the liberty of the individual. France had gained in unity, equality, and liberty.

Public Works.—Napoleon, like the Romans, had a taste for great public works. In this he saw a means of making his government splendid and popular. Like the Romans,

he had highways constructed for the purpose of transporting his armies and of bringing all parts of his empire into communication with each other; and monuments for the purpose of transmitting his glory to posterity. The principal roads were the Corniche or Cornice Road, cut in the rock along the coast of the Mediterranean, between Toulon and Nice, in order to establish communication between Provence and Italy; the route over the Simplon, which, going up through the upper valley of the Rhone and across the Simplon Pass, descends into the upper valley of the Ticino in Italy.

The principal monuments were erected in Paris. The Column Vendôme, an imitation of the column of Trajan at Rome, was cast from the bronze cannon taken from the enemy in the campaign of 1805. It is covered with bas-reliefs of scenes in that war. The triumphal Arc du Carrousel, built on the Place des Tuileries, is also an imitation of the antique. It reproduces the Arch of Titus. It was surmounted by the two bronze horses of St. Mark which Napoleon had brought away from Venice. They were sent back in 1815. The Arc de l'Etoile, constructed on the elevation which overlooks Paris on the west, is yet another work destined to preserve the memory of the wars of Napoleon. On it are inscribed the names of his generals. Napoleon had put up for competition a plan for a monument—a Temple of Glory—where all his generals were to be represented. The edifice, constructed on the model of a Greek temple, was almost finished in 1814; from it was made the Church of the Madeleine. From this period also dates the Rue de Rivoli with an arcaded façade, the Fountain Desaix, the Corps Législatif, the Exchange, and the Wine Warehouse at Bercy.

Science, Letters, Arts.—Napoleon desired that his reign should be marked by great scientific and artistic works, as well as by great conquests and great creations. He sought to encourage scholars, writers, and artists by rewards and honors. "If Corneille had lived in my time," said he, "I would have made him a prince." The painters, Gros and Gérard, the savants, Lagrange, Laplace, Monge and others, were made barons, and he insisted that the Legion of Honor should be open to all, savants and artists as well as to soldiers and public officials. He bestowed pensions and founded decennial prizes of 100,000 francs. But he tried to manage science and art just as he managed war and politics. He wanted every one to understand art and science as he understood them. He persecuted the two principal writers of his time, Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël, and ordered their works to be seized because they expressed ideas which did not suit him. He openly abused the naturalist Lamarck because he was occupied with the study of meteorology. He withdrew his protection from Cherubini because he found his music too noisy. He acted as if he were the absolute master of the theatre. He forbade the presentation of two dramas by Duval because they might serve as a pretext for demonstrations in favor of or against the nobility. A drama with a Spanish title, "Don Sancho," was prohibited because the Spaniards had just revolted; the author was obliged to change the scene of it to Assyria and to call it "Ninus." The greater number of the dramas of J. Chénier and of N. Lemercier could not be presented, as their authors were displeasing to Napoleon. Napoleon did not have the share that he imagined he exercised in the science and art of his time.

The sciences made great progress; but in France, as in

England, they continued to develop in the direction they had taken before the time of Napoleon.

In mathematics this was the epoch of Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, and the astronomer Lalande; but all had appeared before the end of the century, and it was under the Directory that the two important works of Laplace were published which have made over astronomy, viz.: the "Exposition du système du monde" (1796), and the "Traité de la mécanique céleste" (1799). In physics, Gay-Lussac and Arago; in chemistry, Guyton de Morveau, Berthollet, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Thénard; in natural science, Lamarck, Cuvier, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the botanist Laurent de Jussieu; the physiologists, Bichat and Cabanis, were all men of the eighteenth century also, and only continued, under Napoleon, the labors already begun.

The influence of Napoleon was much more felt in literature. The official encouragement contributed to the duration of certain literary styles of the eighteenth century from which the public had begun to turn away—the classic tragedy after the fashion of Voltaire, represented by Raynouard, Jouy, Luce de Lancival; the epic poem (Campenon, Fontanes, Briffaut, Dorion, etc.); descriptive poetry (Delille, Saint-Lambert, Legouvé, Chênedollé); the lyric ode represented by Lebrun surnamed Pindar. In these classes no remarkable work was produced. But new forms came into being—the historic drama, the song, the romance. Two celebrated writers, Chateaubriand with the "Martyrs" (1809) and the "Génie du Christianisme" (1802), Madame de Staël with "L'Allemagne" (1810), began the romantic[1] movement in France. Both

[1] Two French writers of this period, Joseph and Xavier de Maistre, were noblemen from Savoy, subjects of the King of Sardinia.

were in conflict with Napoleon and were obliged to live outside of France. The emperor realized in a measure his impotency. "I have on my side," said he to Fontanes, "the insignificant literature, and the important is opposed to me."

Napoleon was more fortunate with the artists; his taste agreed with that of his time, and he encouraged the arts in the course upon which they had naturally entered.

The imitation of the antique, which had dominated in architecture ever since the seventeenth century and in sculpture since the eighteenth century, extended even to painting. The most celebrated painter of the period was David (1748–1828), who usually treated subjects taken from antiquity—the Sabines, Leonidas at Thermopylæ, etc. The school of David was dominant in painting during the Revolution and the Empire; the chief representatives were Gérard, Girodet, Gros (painter of battles). Prud'hon (1758–1823) had remained outside of the school; and of the young artists Géricault and Ingres began to depart from it.

Sculpture produced few great works. The French sculptors, Cartellier, Esparcieux, Giraud, remained inferior to their contemporaries, the Dane, Thorwaldsen, and the Italian, Canova.

The architects, Percier, Fontaine, Chalgrin, Brongniart, whom Napoleon charged with the building of his monuments continued to copy the antique forms; no original art came into existence.

In music there appeared no great composers save those of the revolutionary period—Méhul, Lesueur, and Cherubini. Napoleon encouraged the Italian musicians, Païsiello, Paer, and Spontini.

CHAPTER VIII

CONFLICT OF NAPOLEON WITH EUROPE

Peace in Europe.—The war between republican France and monarchical Europe lasted until 1801. Napoleon had found France struggling against a new coalition formed in 1798, which was a union of three out of the four great powers (England, Austria, Russia) and the Italian princes. The allies had reconquered Italy and had tried to invade France, but before they had reached the frontier they were repulsed in Switzerland and in Holland (1799). Then Napoleon had induced the Czar of Russia to withdraw from the war, had driven the Austrians from Italy and from Southern Germany, and had given up the protection of Egypt against the English. Thus he was able to set France at peace with Russia, Austria, and England. The wars of the Revolution were ended. The peace ardently desired by all the nations was reëstablished throughout the whole of Europe, France retained the new institutions, which she had adopted in spite of Europe, the countries which she had conquered, the allies which she had acquired and placed under her influence (Holland, Switzerland, countries of Italy, Spain); England yielded to France and her allies the colonies which she had conquered, but she remained the greatest colonial and maritime power.

The three great powers in the east, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, driven back from the west by France, had indemnified themselves by making a division of Poland, (1793 and 1795); Austria, besides, had extended her borders as far as the Adriatic, by the annexation of the Venetian possessions.

The Conflicts with the Great Powers.—The peace lasted only two years. Two questions were brought forward which the wars of the Revolution had not been able to settle. 1. Who should rule the petty states of central Europe (Germany and Italy)? 2. Who should be master of the seas and of the colonies?

On these two questions the policy of Napoleon was in conflict with that of the other great powers.

1. In central Europe he intended to rule, and alone to regulate the boundaries and the domestic government of the petty states; by his authority alone, the constitutions of the Batavian, Helvetian, Ligurian and Cisalpine republics were wholly transformed; he imposed on all of his neighbors an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, obliged them, in case of war, to put their fleets, their armies, and their treasuries at her disposal. This made Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain vassals of France. He made over territories at his own pleasure; with the Grand Duchy of Tuscany he created the kingdom of Etruria. In 1802 he had annexed Piedmont to France, thus going beyond the natural frontier of the Alps.

In Germany he was obliged to determine the indemnities promised to the lay princes who had lost their domains on the left bank of the Rhine. This was to have been done by the Diet or by a German congress. But the emperor could have had sufficient influence to prevent

the destruction of the ecclesiastical states. These states gave the Austrian and Catholic party a majority in the Diet. Napoleon preferred to have a direct understanding with the German lay princes. They sent to Paris to negotiate, each for himself, with France (the king of Prussia and the Duke of Bavaria were the ones who set the example. Napoleon disposed of the German countries as if they had belonged to him. He destroyed almost all the petty states (ecclesiastical states, free cities, countries, and seigniories), and gave their territories to the principal lay princes of Germany, who received not only indemnities, as had been agreed upon, but also an increase of territory and of power (1803). Then, on a journey to Aix la Chapelle, which at that time belonged to France, he had the same honors paid to him that were given to an emperor of Germany. The Austrian Government was not willing to yield to Napoleon the countries of Italy and Germany, where for more than a century the influence of the emperor had been recognized.

2. On the sea and in the colonies Napoleon did not pretend to reign alone, but he wanted to share the domination with England. He had in his service not only the French fleet, but also the fleets of Holland and of Spain. He wanted to restore a colonial empire to France; he had Louisiana (that is North America west of the Mississippi) returned by Spain; since 1793 he had reconquered the large island of Hayti from the revolting negroes. He wanted to open to French commerce not only the colonies of France, but also those of Spain and of Holland. During the war the English had occupied the colonies of France and of her allies; they had destroyed her navy and put an end to her commerce; as they were masters of the

seas they alone could send out merchantmen. They had gained for themselves almost all the commerce of Europe, America, and the Indies. The war, then, had enriched the English ship-owners and manufacturers. The peace, by taking away the monopoly of the commerce, had diminished their profits. The French were free to compete with them in all the markets; they had even the advantage of being favored by their allies. The treaty of Amiens had not even stipulated for the restoration of the former privileges to the English merchandise. France and her allies were able to put them aside by establishing a high tariff. The English merchants and statesmen were soon aware that peace had been a bad commercial operation for England, and they seized the first opportunity for resuming the war. The war was resumed in 1803.

The Coalitions Opposed to Napoleon.—Through his commercial policy Napoleon was the enemy of England; through his European policy he was the enemy of Austria and of the allied powers. But England had no army, Austria and Russia had not enough funds to sustain a war. They could act against Napoleon only by forming a union. Common interests brought them together, and for ten years there was a succession of coalitions of the great powers in opposition to the French empire. The English Government made war upon the sea. It furnished money to the great states so that they could make war on the Continent. Thus on two fields of conflict were opened at the same time two similar contests, but this war was more especially a duel between England and Napoleon.

England began alone, and by a maritime war. Napoleon saw that his fleet, even when united with the fleets of Holland and Spain, would still be inferior to the English

fleets, and he wished to transfer the conflict to land. At first he made two attempts to invade Ireland, in August and in October, 1804. Then he assembled his army at Boulogne and prepared to transport it to England whenever the united fleets should succeed in clearing the English ships from the Channel; two days should have sufficed, but his fleets were unable to escape from the attacks of the English squadron, which pursued them and finally destroyed them at Trafalgar (1805). Napoleon was obliged to give up not only the taking of the offensive against England but even the defense of the French commercial marine; the English remained masters of the sea. Napoleon, disappointed in regard to the mastery of the sea, fell back upon the Continent. He had deeply irritated the sovereigns of Europe by causing the arrest on neutral territory and the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, a prince of the royal family of France (1803). The Emperor Francis of Austria, Alexander I., Czar of Russia, and Frederick William III., King of Prussia came together and sought to arrive at an agreement to put a stop to the career of Napoleon, who threatened to alone become more powerful than all the others.

The emperor and the czar concluded an alliance purely defensive, in which the King of Prussia had no part (November, 1804). The Czar Alexander, without informing his ally, treated directly with England (April, 1805); Austria then found herself engaged in a war without being prepared for it. In this manner was formed the first coalition—against Napoleon—between England and the Eastern powers. It was not complete, the King of Prussia dared not enter it. He felt himself in greater danger from Alexander on account of Poland

than from Napoleon on account of Germany; when he had come to a decision, after the first defeats of the Austrians at Ulm and on the Danube, it was too late; Napoleon had just destroyed the Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), and had forced the emperor to sue for peace.

Napoleon, delivered from the power of Austria, succeeded in establishing his authority in all the countries whose possession had been in dispute with Austria. He took the kingdom of Italy from the Bourbons, and gave it to his brother Joseph. He turned the Dutch Republic into a kingdom, which he gave to his brother Louis. In Germany he effectively destroyed the old Germanic empire. As in 1803, he treated directly with the German lay princes; he increased their territories at the expense of what had remained of the free cities and of the domains of the church; to the leading princes he gave new titles (he created two kings and two grand dukes); then sixteen German princes declared that they were no longer a part of the empire and united to form the Confederation of the Rhine; they recognized Napoleon as Protector of the Confederation, and pledged themselves to furnish him with 60,000 men in case of war. Francis gave up the title of Emperor of Germany and called himself henceforth the Emperor of Austria (1806).

Napoleon thus became master of Southern Germany, and of the west, and he sought for the control of Northern Germany. At the commencement of the war with England, in 1803, he had caused the occupation of Hanover (possession of the family of the English king); he obliged the Prussian king to take it in exchange for the duchy of Cleves, thus pledging the Prussian Government, in

spite of itself, to undertake a war with England (December, 1805); then he entered into negotiations with the English Government, promising the restitution of Hanover (1806). So the King of Prussia was treated as a petty German prince, his kingdom was no longer counted among the great powers, he was even on the point of losing the influence which Prussia had exercised since the time of Frederick II. over Northern Germany. He decided to risk another war in order to keep his rank among the other princes. But Napoleon had still an army in Germany. Prussia had no time to form another coalition; she had to carry the whole burden of the war, her army was destroyed, and the entire kingdom was occupied by the French (1806).

The year 1806 brought a change in the attitude of Napoleon. 1. The negotiations with the English Government were broken off. Napoleon no longer thought of making peace with England, but was working her ruin; 2. Napoleon, who up to that period had been content with the domination of Central Europe, became interested in the affairs of Eastern Europe and wanted to dispose of Northern Germany, Prussia, and Poland.

The Blockade of the Continent.—Napoleon, seeing that for want of a fleet he could not make a direct attack on England, sought to injure her by destroying her commerce. Before he had ended the war with Prussia he published the Berlin Decree (December, 1806), which established the Continental blockade.

A principle admitted by all the European peoples was, that when a port belonging to a country at war is blockaded by the fleet of a hostile power no ship, not even from a neutral nation, was to enter that port. The English

Government pretended to prevent the entrance of the neutral vessels, when there was no actual blockade, satisfied with the mere declaration that such a port was in a state of blockade. Napoleon extended this pretended claim to the whole Continent. He declared that no one in Europe should any longer trade with England. No English ship was to be received in a Continental port, no European vessel was to land at any port of England or of the colonies. The prohibition extended over all English merchandise. French subjects and those of all the Continental countries were forbidden to transport English goods. Napoleon hoped to ruin the English by preventing the sale of their manufactured products, the disposition of their colonial wares and mine products, and to keep them from procuring for themselves the grains and woods which they could not well do without.

The English Government met this decree by *orders in council* which forbade all ships, of whatever nation, to trade in any Continental port without first having visited an English port. The penalty was confiscation. That is to say all commerce had henceforth to be carried on through England. Napoleon declared that any neutral vessel visiting England would be denationalized and considered as an English ship, therefore would be confiscated. This measure overturned all the customs of Europe. Since the wars of the Revolution all European nations had been accustomed to receive from England all their stuffs, iron goods, colonial products, coffee, tea, sugar. They found themselves suddenly deprived of things which they could not do without. The merchants, especially those of Holland and of the Hanseatic towns (Bremen and Hamburg), who were living from their trade

with England, saw themselves condemned to complete ruin.

It was impossible to carry out exactly the provisions of the decree. In the countries where the administration was in the hands of the French officials, English merchandise entered secretly, smuggled into the country. The merchants deceived or bought the officers charged with the surveillance of the imports, or perhaps they got around the prohibition by the following procedure: They sent into a French port a cargo of English goods, the authorities confiscated the cargo and had the goods sold to the highest bidder; the merchants for whom they were destined bought them, and then felt at liberty to sell them again. In order to prevent this fraud it became necessary to issue orders for the burning of all confiscated merchandise. Thus the inhabitants saw the objects of which they were obliged to be deprived destroyed under their very eyes. It was still more easy to smuggle into the countries which did not belong to France. It was carried on with the aid or connivance of the functionaries, who did not consider themselves obliged to sacrifice the interest and comfort of their compatriots to the policy of Napoleon.

Napoleon himself was obliged to modify the prohibitive order. There were some articles which England alone produced, and which France would not do without. Napoleon authorized the merchants, French or foreign, to buy these articles in England. The government gave them a license, that is, a special permission to do so. In exchange it obliged them to sell in England a sufficient quantity of French wares to equal their purchases in value. The traders carried out this obligation in their own way;

they made up a cargo of cast-off merchandise, and on arriving at an English port dumped it into the sea, then returned to France laden with supplies of English goods. Stuffs and hardware were manufactured in France for that purpose.

Economic and Political Consequences of the Continental Blockade.—At first the blockade produced a commercial crisis. All kinds of business was injured by these prohibitions and confiscations. All countries suffered from them. In England the manufacturers, finding that they could no longer sell their products, were forced to send away their workmen or to keep up in their warehouses quantities of merchandise which brought in no profit. The misery was great; bands of idle workmen went about the country destroying the looms which they said were depriving them of bread. However, England was rich enough to pass through this crisis, to the end of the blockade, without any serious disaster. On the Continent there was much suffering on account of the deprivation of English goods, and especially of colonial wares. The price of coffee and sugar increased so that many bourgeois families, already impoverished by the long wars, were obliged to give up the use of these articles. The Germans and the people of Holland suffered most, and without any compensation. When the blockade was lifted they resumed their relations with England, but they found themselves poorer than before.

In France the high price of the goods which up to that time had been brought from England induced the manufacturers to make those articles and to sell them to the French consumers. They set up spinning, woollen, and cotton mills, and forges for iron and steel. In order to

replace the sugar-cane they began to manufacture sugar from beets. Thus French industry, which had been ruined by the wars of the Revolution, began to revive. The blockade, by keeping away the foreign goods, acted on production as a protective law. But these industries in textiles and metals, originating in prohibition, could not go back to free trade. Even after the fall of Napoleon the iron-masters and the mill-owners continued to demand prohibition, and as they had a strong influence over the chambers, they succeeded in maintaining it for a long time.

The blockade had also political consequences. The countries of the North Sea (Holland and the great German ports) were not resigned to ruin. They continued their commerce with England; the authorities favored smuggling, even the King of Holland, Louis, brother of Napoleon, sided with his people. Napoleon, in order to have the blockade observed, resolved to put those countries under French administration. So he annexed all of Holland and the coast of Germany as far as Denmark to the French empire, going beyond the natural frontiers on that coast as he had done in Italy.

This desire to increase the territory included in the blockade acted as well on the foreign policy of Napoleon. He engaged in a war with Portugal in order to force the closing of her ports to the English. He wanted to impose the same régime on his ally, the czar, and that was the chief cause of the rupture with Russia.

Domination of Napoleon in Europe.—Beginning with 1806, Napoleon acted as if he were master of Europe. The King of Prussia, conquered and pressed back to the eastern extremity of his kingdom, appealed to the czar

for aid, and a new coalition was formed between Russia, Prussia, and England. It was incomplete, however. Austria was too exhausted to take part in it. The war brought the French armies even to the frontier of Russia, at Tilsit (1807). Then the czar changed his policy, and abandoning Prussia, entered into an alliance with Napoleon. The two allies divided Europe between them. Napoleon left Alexander master in the East. He allowed him to conquer Finland from Sweden, and Roumania from the Turkish empire. He promised him that he would not again set up the kingdom of Poland. Alexander left Napoleon master of all the rest of Europe.

Napoleon began by reducing Prussia to the rank of a secondary state. He took away the provinces, old and new, which were to the west of the Elbe, and the Polish provinces on the eastern border, leaving only four provinces.[1] He wanted to make this fragment of a kingdom a part of the "Confederation of the Rhine." The King of Prussia was opposed to it; he neither wanted to give up his army nor to become an ally of Napoleon. The emperor, not being able to subdue him, tried to ruin him. He left his army as a garrison in the fortresses, and throughout the country oppressed the inhabitants with requisitions and demands for contributions (it is estimated that the amount of money thus contributed was near to one milliard francs), and he forbade the king to keep on a war-footing more than 42,000 men.

Of the Prussian provinces on the west and Hesse, which he had taken from its sovereign, Napoleon made up the kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand Duchy of Berg.

[1] Brandenburg, Silesia, Pomerania and Prussia.

He gave the former to a brother and the latter to a brother-in-law, and made them enter into the Confederation of the Rhine. Thus he controlled all of Germany as far as the Elbe. Returning to France, he became occupied in making himself master of the Spanish peninsula. At first he obliged the Spanish Government to give him a share of Portugal. When the French army had entered Spain, he profited by it in order to make himself master of the country. The Spanish Government had always acted the part of a submissive ally, but it was incapable, and allowed its fleet and army to go to ruin. Napoleon thought that a French administration would turn to better account the resources of Spain. He profited by the quarrels between King Charles and his son Ferdinand, in order to have them both withdraw their claims to the throne, and he gave the crown to his brother Joseph. But the Spanish, who endured without revolt the bad government of a Spanish king, could not endure the idea of a foreign king. In a few days all the cities revolted and proclaimed Ferdinand VII. king. This was the first national uprising against Napoleon. The insurgents, unfortunate in their leaders and without regular armies, could not prevent the French from subjugating Spain and Portugal. But they continued a kind of guerilla warfare, which used up the French forces; besides, having become allies of England they consented to allow the landing of an army from England, which fixed its quarters in Portugal behind entrenchments from which the French army could not dislodge it.

This example excited the patriotism of the Germans; they began to murmur against the French domination; in Prussia especially preparations for deliverance were

begun. Then it was that the philosopher Fichte, a professor at Berlin, pronounced his "Discourse to the German Nation," and Scharnhorst began to reorganize the Prussian army. In Austria the peasants of the Tyrol revolted against the King of Bavaria, to whom Napoleon had given their country. This was the second national uprising (1809). It was quickly suppressed. The Austrian Government thought that the moment had come for a renewal of the contest. This time it tried to profit by an appeal to patriotism, and called upon the "German nation" for help. But this appeal brought forward only some volunteers and a battalion of Prussian hussars, who deserted with their major, Schill, in order to join in a campaign against Napoleon. Austria joined forces with England, but they were alone in the coalition. The czar remained on the side of Napoleon, and the King of Prussia, held in check by 160,000 French troops, refused to go to war. Austria was conquered and invaded in 1809, as she had been in 1805; she was obliged to give up her provinces on the Adriatic.

The domination of Napoleon was complete: he had crushed out two of the three great Continental powers (Prussia and Austria); the third he had made his ally (Russia). Then he made the Emperor of Austria give him a daughter in marriage, so as to enable him to become one of the family of European sovereigns.

In Italy he broke off with the pope, who had refused to obey him, had him carried off and transported to France, annexing his states to the French empire. He also annexed Tuscany. In Germany, he annexed the coast of the North Sea and Holland as well. The French empire, governed directly by Napoleon, had then

130 departments, and extended from the Elbe to the Tiber.[1]

All of Central Europe and Spain were divided into secondary states, which Napoleon governed indirectly; the most considerable, the kingdoms of Spain, Italy, Naples, and Westphalia, had relatives of Napoleon for their sovereigns. In domestic affairs which did not concern his policy, Napoleon permitted each state to have the control, but all were obliged to maintain an army in the service of Napoleon, to aid him in all his wars, and to carry out in their own country the decree for the blockade. Moreover, the French princes had brought into the country French functionaries, who administered the government in the French manner.

The two great states, Austria and Prussia, which in the eighteenth century shared with France the control of Central Europe, were still independent in name, but dismembered, ruined, reduced to the second rank among the powers, incapable of resisting the orders of Napoleon, who maintained an army garrisoned in Prussia, and had obliged the Emperor of Austria to give him his daughter in marriage.

Napoleon felt that he was master of Europe. He appeared not only as emperor of the country of France, but of the Occident. In the decree by which he took possession of the Papal States he declared that he had taken away from the pope what Charlemagne, "our predecessor," had given to him. There was to be only one great state in Europe, the French empire; all the rest would be divided into petty states, whose princes would each have a palace

[1] Napoleon had besides kept the Alpine countries to the north of the Adriatic, which he had taken from Austria in 1809. From them he made the Illyrian Provinces governed directly by French generals.

in Paris; all the archives of Europe would be gathered also into one single palace in Paris, which was to be constructed of stone and iron.

However, the two extremities of Europe still continued to resist these encroachments. In the west the English still remained unassailable in their island; the Portuguese and the Spanish Government, which had taken refuge at Cadiz, defended themselves with the aid of the English armies. In the east Sweden and Russia kept their independence and opened their ports to the Engish ships.

Napoleon wanted to force the czar to join in his system by closing Russia to the American ships, which were bringing in English merchandise. Alexander refused. Napoleon would no longer allow Alexander to carry on at his own pleasure the governments in Turkey and in Poland. The alliance of 1807 was broken, and Napoleon declared war against Russia.

He drew with him all the states of Europe, not only his allies of Germany, Italy, and Spain, but Prussia, which he occupied, and Austria, which had just become bankrupt and could not expose herself to a war against Napoleon.

The army that invaded Russia was a European army; out of twelve corps, six were entirely composed of foreigners. The other six were composed of French and foreigners. There were 80,000 Italians, 147,000 Germans, 60,000 Poles (from the Grand Duchy of Warsaw), 30,000 Austrians, 20,000 Prussians.

In 1793 allied Europe had invaded France. In 1812 France, allied with Europe, was invading Russia. But in 1793, it was France that declared a national war; in 1812 the national war was made by the enemies of the French empire.

CHAPTER IX

THE RESTORATION IN EUROPE

Destruction of the System of Napoleon.—Following his custom, Napoleon marched straight toward the capital, counting that, after having occupied it, he would receive proposals for peace. In fact, he entered Moscow (September, 1812). But his plans were frustrated by conditions whose existence he had not foreseen. Moscow was only the religious and national capital of Russia; the seat of government was St. Petersburg. The loss of Moscow did not paralyze the Russian Government. Alexander did not make any demands for peace. Napoleon decided to make the advances; he sent propositions for peace. Alexander replied that he would make no treaty until the enemy had departed from Russia. It would have been necessary to wait; Napoleon could not do so. His army, ill-disciplined from its origin, composed of men from every land, had melted away in crossing those great plains, destitute of resources, where the men, unprovided for, could not live without dispersing for the purpose of marauding. Before the battle of the Moskova there remained no more than 155,000 combatants. They advanced slowly, encumbered with carts laden with booty like a horde of barbarians.

At Moscow the army could not be reorganized. The inhabitants, seized with horror for the heretical invaders,

had abandoned the city; there remained only the foreign merchants. The very evening that the French entered the city it was destroyed by fire. It was not possible to pass the winter there—a return to Europe was necessary. Napoleon did not decide upon the retreat until after the 18th of October. That year the winter was forward and severe. The army was obliged to go back through a country that it had just ravaged, and it perished from cold and hunger. Only a remnant of disbanded and unarmed soldiers returned. Russia was relieved, and Napoleon had lost his army. This was the first act in the drama of defeat. Not only had Russia resisted him, but his allies began to escape from his thraldom. The Prussian army-corps negotiated with the Russian army and promised to remain neutral. Then the King of Prussia, under pretext of going to organize a war against Russia, escaped from Berlin, where he was under the surveillance of a French garrison, withdrew into Silesia, and made an alliance with Russia and with England (January–February, 1813).

The King of Prussia made an appeal to his people, who responded by subscriptions and enrolment of volunteers; beside the army was organized the "landwehr," which was clothed and armed at the expense of the provinces. The united armies of Russia and Prussia marched upon Germany to rouse it against Napoleon. The princes who should refuse to join the allies were to be dispossessed. Saxony was first invaded, and remained the great battle-field. The Elector of Saxony, whom Napoleon had made king, dared not decide for either of the two parties. Napoleon forced him to remain an ally. The campaign of the spring of 1813 consisted of two bloody battles (Lützen

and Bautzen); Napoleon remained master of Saxony, but he had no cavalry, and he demanded an armistice of three months. He could only obtain one of six weeks. The allies had shown that they were strong enough for the struggle. The "landwehr," on which there had been little dependence, had fought desperately. The Austrian Government, which up to that time had remained neutral, for fear of a sudden attack, took courage on seeing Napoleon held in check. It declared that it would be the mediator between the belligerents. Napoleon accepted the mediation in order to regain the confidence of Austria. But it was impossible to come to any agreement. Napoleon was willing to conclude a peace with the Continental powers, excluding England. The allies would accept nothing but a general peace; they were pledged to England, who furnished them money, and they could make no treaty without her consent. The Congress of Prague was therefore nothing but a comedy. Austria had pledged herself in advance to join the allies should Napoleon reject her advances, and they knew that he would do so. The 10th of August, the Emperor of Austria entered the coalition. It was henceforth complete. For the first time the four great powers of Europe operated in common against France. This was the second act of the drama of defeat (March–August, 1813).

The allies (for this was the name they now took) resolved to take away all Germany from Napoleon. They abandoned the methods and slow manner of making war which had led to their defeat in 1793 and adopted the strategy of Napoleon. They had three great armies, in all about 480,000 men. It was decided that the principal army should take the offensive, march straight on the

enemy and destroy his army without stopping to lay any siege. "All the allied armies," said the plan of July 12, "will take the offensive and the camp of the enemy will be their rendezvous." The war of that summer was carried on in three different districts—Saxony, Silesia, and Brandenburg. Napoleon, conqueror at Dresden, maintained his power in Saxony, but his other armies were destroyed or forced back into neighboring territory. September 9 the allies resolved upon the plan, which they were going to apply to Germany; to reëstablish Prussia and Austria as they were in 1805; to return Hanover to Brunswick; to restore to their former condition the German countries which had been annexed to the French empire, or had been given to French princes; to dissolve the Confederation of the Rhine; to assure the absolute and entire independence of the small states as far as the Alps and the Rhine. It was a matter of the destruction of the power of Napoleon in Germany by taking from him his allies. The King of Bavaria set the example, withdrew from the Confederation, and joined the allies. This was the third act of the drama of defeat (August–September, 1813).

The three armies of the allies marched together on Leipsic, the head-quarters of the French; there was a battle lasting three days. Napoleon escaped with 100,000 men, whom he led back to France. The French princes fled; the German princes joined the coalition; Germany was lost to Napoleon. This was the fourth act of the drama (October–November, 1813).

The allies, arriving at Frankfort, offered to leave to Napoleon the France of 1800, but they reserved to themselves the right to continue their advance pending the

negotiations. Napoleon having ordered a levy of 300,000 men, the allies published the manifesto of Frankfort. "The Powers," said they, "are at war, not against France, but against the domination, openly proclaimed, that Napoleon has exercised outside of the limits of his empire. They guaranteed to France an extent of empire unknown under the kings." Then the three allied armies crossed the Rhine, invaded France, and marched upon Paris—from the south by the way of Franche-Comté and the Seine, from the centre by way of the Marne, and from the north by the Netherlands and the Oise River. Napoleon had allowed his soldiers to be scattered in the fortresses of Germany, and had only his guard and the débris of a few regiments. By enrolling with them some conscripts and national guards he created an army with which he made the campaign in France. During this campaign the allies again offered to negotiate, this time at Châtillon. They left nothing more to France than the frontier of 1792. Napoleon had been resigned to accept their proposition, then he refused, and the Congress of Châtillon was closed March 18, 1814.

Through intercepted dispatches the allies learned that Paris could not bé defended. They marched directly upon the city, which capitulated after a half-day's combat. France was in the power of the allies. This was the fifth and last act. At the beginning the allies only thought of expelling the French from Germany. They only wanted to destroy the work of Napoleon, but victory had led them into France, and they had just destroyed the work of the Revolution.

The End of the Empire.—The allies, masters of Europe and of France, took it upon themselves to adjust the fate

of France and of Europe. They began with France. They wanted nothing more of Napoleon, and did not dream of restoring the Republic, but looked about for a sovereign who would again set up a monarchical régime and conclude a peace with the rest of Europe. Three plans were proposed: 1. The son of Napoleon and Mary Louise; but they feared to give too much influence to his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria. 2. Bernadotte, whom Alexander of Russia tried to propose; but none of the other powers would listen to that. 3. The Bourbons; but the allies, since their entrance into France, had observed that no one in the country was any longer concerned about the Bourbons; during the twenty years of war, they had been completely forgotten. Now the English Government declared that no government should be imposed upon the French, that the nation should remain her own mistress and choose her own sovereign.

The Austrian minister Metternich, already very influential among European statesmen, took sides with the Bourbons, and worked in their interest. He received their envoys and brought about the decision that the French provinces, as soon as they were occupied by the allies, should be given into the hands of the partisans of the Bourbons, if they declared for Bourbon rule. After the entry of the allies into Paris the sovereigns decided to place Louis XVIII. on the throne, and by the advice of Talleyrand they declared "that they would no longer treat with Napoleon or with any member of his family; that they would respect the France of the 'ancient régime,' such as she was under her legitimate kings; that they would recognize and guarantee the constitution which the French nation would adopt." Consequently they "invited

the Senate to designate a provisional government, which would be charged with the administration and to prepare a constitution." The appeal was made to the two constituted bodies, the Senate and the Corps Législatif, or rather to the members of the two assemblies who were known to be favorable to the Bourbons. The Senate, represented by sixty-three members out of one hundred and forty-two, declared that Napoleon was dethroned, and the people and army were released from their oath. A provisional government consisting of five members was created. The Corps Législatif, represented by seventy-seven members out of three hundred and three, ratified this decision. The army having retired to the south-east of Paris, received the decrees of the assemblies; the marshals themselves, who were with Napoleon at Fontainebleau, urged him to abdicate.

The Bourbons could then take possession of the government. The allies bound them to establish a liberal form of government, to accept the changes which had taken place in France since 1789, and not to employ the exiled nobles in the administration. Louis XVIII. was to be recalled by virtue not of hereditary right but of the Constitution drawn up by the Senate. In this act it was said: "The French people of their own will call Louis of France to the throne." The Senate had stipulated that the king should respect the rights of the army, the public debt, the sales of national properties. After such a declaration Louis returned to France and was recognized as king by the Senate and the Corps Législatif.

Treaties of 1814 and 1815.—The new government made treaties in the name of France. First, an armistice was signed (the French armies were to evacuate all the

fortified places which they had occupied), afterward a treaty of peace. The allies only exacted that the limits of France should be those of 1792 (they conceded some additions); they did not demand any war indemnity (they refused to have the 169,000,000 francs paid which were due to Prussia; they even left in the French museums the works of art which Napoleon had carried off from the conquered countries. They wanted to avoid humiliating the French. They declared "that in order to show their desire to efface all traces of these unhappy times, the powers yield any claims for money which they could have demanded." The allies did not wish to leave any garrisons in France. As soon as Louis XVIII. had promulgated the new Constitution they left Paris and evacuated France.

These conditions were modified in 1815. As soon as the return of Napoleon from the Island of Elba was known at Vienna, the European governments declared "that Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself beyond civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and a disturber of the peace of nations he should be given over to public prosecution." Not for a moment did they think of entering into any treaty with him; their armies were not yet disbanded, and they were immediately turned toward France, which they invaded in every direction. After the defeat of Napoleon the allies considered that the treaty of 1814 had been broken. Since the Bourbons could not be answerable for the strength necessary to maintain their authority, the allies decided to impose new guarantees and charges, which would still keep France dependent on them. They agreed to exact a considerable war indemnity, to have the works of art restored to the

countries which had been despoiled by Napoleon, to leave troops in garrison, and to construct, at the expense of France, a line of fortresses along the frontier in the adjacent countries. Then they divided the French territory; each power had certain provinces to which it sent armies to be quartered upon the inhabitants. This occupation was to last two years, until the indemnity was paid.

It was also agreed that the frontiers should be changed. The Prussians and some of the small German states wanted to take Alsace and Lorraine and even Flanders from France. Of these a state would have been set up for the Archduke Charles; Austria demanded that at least the fortresses on the frontier should be destroyed. The English Government and the Czar of Russia opposed any dismemberment. They contented themselves with taking several fortresses, Savoy, and the county of Nice (September 28, 1815). This relatively advantageous treaty was at that time considered very disastrous by the French. The Duke de Richelieu, who had succeeded in obtaining it, signed it "more dead than alive." France paid a milliard of francs and two years of occupation for the return of Napoleon, but she escaped dismemberment.

Congress of Vienna.—After the affairs of France the allies had to regulate the affairs of Europe. They met at Vienna, where a general congress was held. Representatives from all the states were present (ninety from the sovereign states and fifty-three from the governments of the mediatized princes). After so many years of war, this reunion of diplomats was an occasion for festivity and ceremony. The Austrian Government had appointed a commission from the court charged with rendering the sojourn at Vienna as agreeable as possible.

The Congress was to have been opened the 30th of May, 1814, then the 1st of October, then the 1st of November; in fact, it was never opened. The allies did not want to allow a discussion of the affairs of Europe by the petty states; they intended to decide the questions among themselves. The work was to be done by two committees; thus they would have the decisions brought before the Congress, which would have nothing to do but to ratify them. Talleyrand, representing France, protested against this procedure, and against the expression "the allies" (which had no meaning except during war). He succeeded in having an announcement made that the Congress would be formally opened November 1 "in accordance with the principles of public right." The Prussian envoys protested; Hardenberg, standing, his fists on the table, cried: "No, gentlemen, public right is useless. Why should we say that we act according to public right? That goes without saying." Talleyrand replied, "that if that went without saying, it would go better with saying." Humboldt cried: "What is public right doing here?" "It has placed you here," responded Talleyrand. And he wrote to Louis XVIII.: "They pretend that we have carried off a victory because we have had the expression public right introduced. This opinion ought to give you the measure of the spirit that animates the Congress." It was only a victory in form. The principles of public right had never been firmly established in Europe, and the last wars had completely unsettled them. Talleyrand declared in the name of Louis XVIII., "that he would not recognize the principle that conquest alone gives sovereignty," but he himself, during the time of Napoleon, had applied no other law but the

right of conquest. France having ceased to be a conqueror, he tried to return to the ancient custom; each country, said he, belongs by right to the legitimate, that is, hereditary, sovereign. One should then return to each princely family whatever had belonged to it. But the allies, having become conquerors, in their turn, had lost all respect for legitimacy. The ancient principle was destroyed, and no new principle had yet taken its place. No statesman would have wished to consult the inhabitants themselves concerning their fate. That was a revolutionary proceeding, and they were then trying to efface the traces of the Revolution. There remained, then, but one rule, the will of the allies, what the czar called the "expediency of Europe." Talleyrand went to him to ask his intentions. "Each should find what is expedient there," said Alexander. "And each one his rights," responded Talleyrand. "I shall keep what I occupy." "Your Majesty will desire to keep only what is legitimately your own. I place right first, and expediency afterward." "Expediency for Europe is right," said Alexander.

In fact, the Congress was not opened; the questions were decided by commissions formed only from the representatives of the great states, sometimes from those of the five great powers (the four allies and France); sometimes from the eight, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, in addition to the allies and France. The other governments were not consulted. Territories were distributed among the sovereigns, taking into account the wealth of the country, the number of souls, but not what was expedient for the people. The regulations fixed by the commissions were drawn up in the form of certain

treaties between the different powers, then all the treaties were united in a general act, which was called the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna.

Napoleon had dominated all Europe and had completely demoralized it. The allies had taken it back from him, but they could not and would not restore it to its former condition, such as it was in 1800, so they decided to make it over again. From the 30th of May, before leaving Paris, they had, by a secret treaty, agreed to exclude France, and to regulate among themselves, according to certain general conditions, the government of the countries taken from France. These countries were Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine,[1] Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The allies at first settled the questions upon which they were agreed.

Holland was restored to the family of Orange, and united with Belgium to form the Netherlands; Switzerland became again a confederation, and three cantons were added: Geneva, the Valais, and Neuchâtel. The left bank of the Rhine was destined to serve as indemnity for the German princes. In Spain and in Portugal the former sovereigns had been already restored. In Italy everything was reëstablished as before the Revolution,[2] except in the two republics of Genoa and Venice. Genoa was given as indemnity to the King of Sardinia; Venice remained in possession of Austria. The King of Sweden, in compensation for Finland, received Norway, which

[1] Savoy and the county of Nice were left to France.

[2] Murat was provisionally allowed to remain King of Naples as a reward for having abandoned Napoleon, but he was not officially recognized; in 1815 the Bourbons of Naples were restored. Murat having tried to return was taken and shot.

was taken from the King of Denmark, the ally of Napoleon.

Three questions were reserved, upon which the powers could not agree on account of opposing interests: 1. The organization of Germany (Prussia wanted to restore the empire, Austria preferred a confederation). 2. The indemnity to be given to Prussia, this kingdom wanted to annex Saxony; Austria did not want the Prussians on the Bohemian frontier; the other allies feared to make Prussia too powerful in Germany. 3. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw (Alexander wanted to keep it, and from it set up the kingdom of Poland; England and Austria opposed the advancement of the power of the czar in the west). These three questions were debated at Vienna, and Talleyrand, profiting by the disagreement, brought France back into the European concert. He declared himself against the project of taking Saxony from the legitimate king. Prussia relied upon the help of Russia, and Alexander permitted the taking over of Saxony in order that he might have Poland. Talleyrand agreed with England and Austria, France was admitted into the commission and all three concluded a defensive alliance. Talleyrand wrote to Louis XVIII.: "Now, Sire, the coalition is dissolved, and forever. France is no longer isolated in Europe." There was even a talk of war. Then peace was established; Alexander obtained Poland and abandoned Prussia, whose demands were not complied with. They refused to dispossess the King of Saxony. In exchange for his estates the Prussians promised to give him a new kingdom, which would be formed on the left bank of the Rhine; it was then the desire of the Prussian statesmen to avoid the immediate

neighborhood of the French frontier. It seemed advantageous to France to have between her borders and Prussia a feeble state, governed by an allied sovereign. It was Talleyrand, however, who refused assent to this arrangement, as it was contrary to the system of legitimacy and a menace to the balance of power in Germany. Finally, the Prussians were satisfied to accept an indemnity, composed of four parts: the northern part of Saxony, with 782,000 souls; 810,000 souls in Poland; 829,000 in Northern Germany; 1,044,000 on the left bank of the Rhine. Prussia, notwithstanding her opposition, found herself extended to the French frontier and obliged to defend the Rhine.

In Germany the patriots who had urged on the "war of deliverance" against Napoleon desired that the old Germanic empire should be reëstablished; the Prussian statesmen proposed to make the Emperor of Austria sovereign of the empire. The two great states would have formed a directorate, in order to govern with Germany, Prussia in the north, and Austria in the south. The Emperor of Austria refused to take again the title of Emperor of Germany, and did not want any general government where he would have been obliged to share the power with Prussia. The petty sovereigns of the other German states insisted especially on keeping the sovereignty which they had acquired in 1806; they were not anxious again to place over them a superior authority nor to obey the King of Prussia, whom they regarded as their equal. Now, in 1813, in order to draw the German princes into the coalition, the allies, through treaties, had promised them that their territory and sovereignty should remain intact. These sovereign states could not form a single

nation. Therefore the restoration of the empire, destroyed by Napoleon, was given up. It was sufficient to create a confederation (the Deutscher Bund), that is to say, a perpetual alliance among the states with a diet (Bundestag), a permanent conference of envoys from each state.

Such was the work of the Congress at Vienna, where all the governments of Europe were represented. It was completed in 1815, after the second fall of Napoleon. Not only were measures taken to prevent France from again going to war, by taking away her conquests and establishing a line of fortresses on her frontier, but an effort was made to prevent war between the sovereigns in the future. Metternich, who at that time was the leader of all the other statesmen, sought to have accepted this principle, unknown in the eighteenth century, that all sovereigns form one great family, and that all governments have an interest in sustaining each other against their subjects, and in regulating their differences by arbitration. It was decided that congresses should be frequently held for the purpose of maintaining a perfect understanding between governments and to take measures against discontent among the people. This was called the Metternich system. It was carried out quite regularly for about ten years. The diplomats held several congresses, and repressed several revolts; the Congress sent an Austrian army to the support of the King of Naples, and a French army to aid the King of Spain, during revolts of their subjects.

The treaties of 1815 remained, during forty years, the basis of international law (till the war of the Crimea); and during that period there was no great war in Europe.

The work of the Congress of Vienna was destroyed between 1860 and 1870, but the custom of having a European congress and the idea of a tribunal of arbitration, which would prevent wars, have been preserved.

Europe in 1815.—Europe had been made over by the four great allied powers and in their own interests. In principle, it was to be restored to the conditions previous to the Revolution. In fact, France alone was reduced to her territory of 1792. All the other great states came out of the readjustment much larger, or with territory rounded out at the expense of the petty states, especially at the expense of the republics of Italy and of the ecclesiastical dominions in Germany, which Napoleon had destroyed and which had not been restored. Poland, dismembered during the Revolution, remained divided between the three great powers in the East; only the city of Cracow was raised to a free independent city.

Austria in exchange for the Low Countries, which she did not care to hold, kept the state of Venice, which extended her territory to the south-west as far as the Adriatic, and carried it into Italy as far as the Ticino. In exchange for her domains, scattered through the Black Forest, she kept the bishopric of Salzburg, which joined her frontier on the south-west.

Prussia kept Polish Posen, which she had acquired in the division of 1793, in exchange for the other Polish provinces which she had appropriated in 1795. She received the province of Saxony and the province of the Rhine; she kept Westphalia, which she had received as indemnity for some small domains on the left bank of the Rhine. Thus she had four provinces more than in 1789, and her territory was no longer composed of isolated

strips, but was in an almost compact [1] mass extending over all of Northern Germany, from Russia west to France.

The Czar of Russia kept the dismembered provinces of Poland and Finland, which he had taken from the King of Sweden in 1809; he took back the portion of Poland which had been given to Prussia in 1795, in order to make out of it the kingdom of Poland, whose sovereign he remained.

England demanded nothing in Europe except the small island of Heligoland; she had taken her indemnity at the expense of the colonies of France and Holland. Between the three powers in the east (Russia, Austria, and Prussia) and the two in the west (France and England) Central Europe was divided into petty states. Germany was no longer that empire, without force, made up of three hundred territories encroaching on each other, divided among three hundred governments, dissimilar, with dependent rulers.

She had remained simplified ever since the passage of the French, relieved of her sovereign lords, of all the princes of the church, and of almost all the free cities. She became what Napoleon had made of her, a confederation of princes, but the guidance of these princes was returning to Austria.

Italy was again portioned out into small sovereign states: in the south the kingdom of Naples; in the centre, the States of the Church, and the three duchies of Tuscany' Parma, and Modena; in the north Sardinia, increased by the addition of Genoa, and the two Austrian provinces, the Milanais and Venetia, united under one administration with the name of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice.

[1] There were two indentations, to the east Mecklenburg, and to the west the three states, Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau.

Austria, mistress of the basin of the Po, and controlling the three duchies which belonged to Austrian princes, held Italy in her power. Germany and Italy remained in the condition they had occupied since the Middle Ages —nations in pieces. Both were under the influence of Austria, who was interested in continuing this parcelled-out condition. Since she no longer desired to increase her own territory it was much more easy to lead the feeble states.

On the French frontier two small dismembered states of the ancient Germanic empire were preserved. Switzerland, increased by the addition of Geneva, the Valais, and Neuchâtel, had become a confederation of twenty-two cantons; Holland had become, with the territory of Belgium, the kingdom of the Netherlands. Both were declared neutral and were placed under the protection of all the European powers.

In the east, Poland was suppressed. Sweden was thrust back into the Scandinavian peninsula, but the kingdom of Denmark lost Norway, which was attached to Sweden.

The Europe of 1815 was organized like the Europe of the eighteenth century so as to maintain an equilibrium among the powers and the weakness of the central region, where the influence of the great states was to act as a counterpoise. This arrangement lasted half a century, until the time when the desire for equilibrium yielded to the desire for unity in Germany and in Italy.

CHAPTER X

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE

The Restoration.—The sovereigns of Europe, who again took possession of their states in 1814, restored the government to the conditions existing before the Revolution. Some would have liked to go back to the original system: the King of Sardinia thought of destroying the Corniche Road, because it was the work of Napoleon; the Elector of Hesse thought to reduce to their former grade all the officers who had been promoted during his absence. In fact the reëstablished governments retained a part of the reforms made during the Revolution: the liberty in agriculture and in the industries, the unity of the laws, the uniformity in administration; in general, all that had already been begun by enlightened despotism, and which did not diminish the power of the state. But they laid down as a principle, that the Revolution had been an illegal attempt against order, and that the absolute monarchy must be restored. Louis XVIII. called Napoleon the usurper, and counted 1815 as the twenty-first year of his reign.

It was this return to absolute monarchy that was called the Restoration. Since that time there have been two opposite opinions in Europe in the understanding of government—the absolute theory and the constitutional

theory. In each country there have been two opposing parties—the party in favor of an absolute régime and the party in favor of a constitutional régime, which calls itself liberal. The difference between the two is not in the form of government; the constitutional party does not prefer a republic to a monarchy; the difference is in the principle of power.

The theory of absolutism is almost the same as the ancient theory of the divine right—the king alone has all authority in the country; God has conferred it on his family, and has desired that it should be transmitted from father to son. The king holds his rights through religion and through tradition; he has not received them from his subjects; he is therefore not accountable to them. He governs as seems to him good, following his own conscience; he is not restrained by any rule of law. All authority comes from him; he has the right not only to govern, but to make laws, and to levy taxes. In certain states the subjects have preserved the custom of electing representatives, who meet in an assembly. The sovereigns usually seek to govern in harmony with that assembly; but if the sovereign and the deputies cannot agree the deputies must yield, for sovereignty does not belong to the nation but to the prince.

The absolutists do not admit that the king can enter into any agreement with his subjects, therefore they reject the idea of a written constitution; they accept no other law save tradition and the will of the king. As they think that religion inspires respect for the sovereign, they want to make religion obligatory, and preserve a political power for the church (this is called the union of church and state). As they distrust the journals, which can criticise

the acts of the government, they want to keep them under continual surveillance; usually they are in favor of a censorship which examines all articles before allowing them to be published.

The absolute party in every country was composed of the people of the court, and the functionaries; on its side were nearly all of the nobility, the clergy, and the peasants. The dominant sentiment was respect for the past, and love of order.

The constitutional theory originates in the principle of the sovereignty of the nation; it is almost that of the English parliamentary government. It recognizes that the king has the right to reign, but he reigns only by consent of the nation, and by virtue of a contract. He has the right neither to make laws, nor to levy taxes, nor to choose his ministers as he pleases; he can only govern in harmony with the assembly which represents the nation, and if there is a conflict between the king and the nation, it is the king who must submit, for the nation is the sovereign.

In order to guarantee the rights of the nation a written constitution is drawn up, which becomes the fundamental law of the land; the king and his ministers must pledge themselves to observe it. If they fail to do so the nation has the right to resist, and the ministers are held responsible. As the surest means of preventing the abuse of power is the publishing of such acts, the constitutional party demands the liberty to speak, to write, and to assemble as may seem good. It also demands liberty of conscience and even equality among religious sects. The constitutional party was recruited chiefly in the cities; it included the bourgeois or citizens in trades, the working

men, the lawyers, and the writers. Its watchword was "Progress and Liberty."

Immediately after the Revolution a contest began between the two parties. It bore especially upon two questions:

1. The liberals demanded that the governments should promulgate a written constitution, in order to establish the rights of the subjects. The governments refused to enter upon an engagement contrary to the law and to the dignity of the prince.

2. The liberals demanded the liberty of the press. The governments refused to permit the publication of subversive articles (those which attacked the organization of society, or of the state), and they continued the censorship.

The absolutists were, in 1815, in power in nearly all the states of Europe. They brought before the tribunals the writers of the opposition, prohibited the importation of foreign books and journals, and ordered to prison those who read them. In Germany the governments became afraid of the student political associations. The Congress of Carlsbad was called expressly for the purpose of dissolving the "Burschenshaft," to establish a system of surveillance in the universities, and to forbid any gatherings of students. Many students were confined in fortresses.

The liberals, on the other hand, organized secret societies, and tried by plots or insurrections to overthrow the government or to force it to grant a constitution for the nation.

The Parliamentary Régime in England.—England is the original country of the parliamentary régime. It was

there that it was established. And it is the English usage which the other nations have adopted.

The parliamentary régime was already established in England in the eighteenth century. It was in operation under the first two Georges (1715 to 1760) almost as it is in the nineteenth century. Then, as to-day, there was no written constitution, but rules established by usage. The government was supposed to be divided between three powers—the hereditary king, the chamber of the hereditary lords, and the lower chamber, composed of elected representatives. It was considered that Parliament had no other rôle than to vote the laws and the budget; that the king should choose his ministers and exercise the executive power. He was, and has remained, irresponsible. It is admitted that if he commits an illegal act it is because he has had bad counsel and it is the ministry, and not the king, that is held responsible before the Parliament. In fact, the king took for his prime minister the chief of the party which was in the majority in the House, charged him with choosing his colleagues, and allowed him to govern so long as he retained the majority. Thus the power belonged entirely to the House of Commons; the king and the lords were little more than ornaments.

Under the reign of George III., from 1760, and especially during the wars with France, the system of government was changed. The king began to exercise his rights. He chose his ministers at his own pleasure, even outside of the majority; he dismissed them, even when they were sustained by the majority. He began to be present at the council of the ministers and to impose his will upon them. The Whig party, which governed until

1715, lost definitively the majority in 1783, and during the war was reduced to sixty members. The Tory party, favorable to the royal prerogative, allowed the king to direct the policy of the state; it was then a question of resistance to France. The measures against the Continental blockade were taken not under the form of laws but from the simple orders of the king in council.

The French Revolution, which had shed the blood of a king, disorganized the church, confiscated private fortunes, overturned the constitution and the throne, had filled the English with such horror that they were seized with an aversion to any change in methods of governing; for thirty years it was impossible to have the least reform accepted in England. While the French were destroying their ancient régime, the English consolidated "old England."

When peace was reëstablished, in 1815, a double movement began for the purpose of obtaining from the government reforms in the old organization and to reconstitute the parliamentary system by taking away the authority of the House of Commons, and by diminishing the influence of the king.

These demands for reform bore: 1. On the penal laws, which dated in part from the sixteenth century. (They preserved the cruel punishments of branding, the pillory, the whip; the death penalty was imposed for more than two hundred misdemeanors; it was a capital crime to steal even five shillings' worth of goods from a shop-window, to take a wild rabbit, or to cut a tree.) A reform in part was secured in 1820.

2. On the economical system organized by Cromwell and perfected during the wars of the Empire. (It was

forbidden to receive in any English ports any other than English ships; the duties on foreign merchandise were so high and complicated that there was a tariff on more than 1,200 articles; the importation of grain was forbidden until the price of grain should reach a high figure, although the country had not enough for its own consumption.) Reform was brought about between 1823 and 1828.

3. On religion, which was still subject to a system of persecution, organized in the seventeenth century. (Catholics were excluded from all functions and could not sit in Parliament, for whoever entered as a member was obliged to make a declaration against the dogmas of the Catholic Church. The emancipation of Catholics was voted in 1829.)

4. The reform, which required the longest time for its establishment, was that of the electoral system, which was fixed in the fourteenth century. The representatives were chosen, some by the county assemblies, formed by the landed proprietors of the whole county, others by the inhabitants of certain privileged boroughs. But neither the apportionment of the representatives to be elected nor the procedure of election had been changed since the Middle Ages; therefore, the system was full of abuses and absurdities.

At first the seats of the representatives were apportioned very unequally. Out of 658 members Ireland sent 100, Scotland 45, Wales 21. England alone had 492. In England, the ten southern counties, with less than 3,000,000 souls, elected 237 representatives; the others with more than 8,000,000 only elected 252; Scotland, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, sent 45; Cornwall, with 300,000, sent 44. The inequality between the counties and the boroughs

was especially striking; the counties which comprised almost the entire population had only 186; the boroughs chose 467; the county of Middlesex, which included the whole city of London, had no more representatives than had the borough of Old Sarum, where only one family remained. The greater part of the boroughs had only an absurd number of electors; 46 had less than 50 voters, 19 had less than 100, 46 less than 200; and 34 depopulated since the Middle Ages had no electoral body; they were the rotten boroughs; Baralston had one house, Galton had nothing but a park, Dunwich had been under water for centuries, and all continued to send their representatives; usually two in number. On the other hand, cities which had been founded since the sixteenth century, among them Liverpool and Manchester, which had more than 100,000 inhabitants, were not represented. It was estimated that in 1793 there were in the House 294 members chosen by electoral bodies of 260 electors, representing less than 15,000 voters. The result was that the representatives, at least those from the boroughs, were not the true representatives of the people; in fact, they were designated by the proprietor of the borough, or by the government. Out of 658 seats 424 were, therefore, at the disposition of 252 landlords or of the government. These lords of the soil regarded themselves as the proprietors of the seats, and they kept them for themselves or for their children, or gave them to their dependents. In 1829 the Duke of Newcastle, proprietor of the great borough of Newark, had obliged the representative to resign, and had presented his candidate to the inhabitants, who were all farmers; 587 dared to vote for the rival candidate; they were all dismissed. Some one complained to the House

of Commons; the Duke replied: "Have I not the right to do what I please with my own property?" Often the seats were sold. At the close of the eighteenth century many of the parvenues, having become rich in the Indies (the nabobs) or in commerce, gave themselves the luxury of a seat in Parliament. There was a current price which rose or declined.

Even in the counties and in the boroughs where the electors were independent, they were usually absurdly small in numbers. In all Scotland there were only 2,500; one county had nine, another twenty-one, and only one of these lived in the district. One day an assembly was called by the sheriff for an election in the county of Bute, only one elector came. He took the chair, declared the session open, called the roll, answered to his name, spoke in favor of his candidacy, put it to vote, and unanimously elected himself.

The election still took place after the old methods. The candidates mounted the platform and made speeches in the midst of cries and tumult; for it was the custom to give something to drink to the electors, and that the electors of the two parties should come and show themselves; often they came to blows. All the electors gathered in the open air, but often those who were not electors slipped into the crowd. The sheriff made them vote by holding up the hand, and he proclaimed the result. Most frequently the result was known in advance, for there was but one candidate; when there were several candidates, if one of them demanded it, the poll was taken, each elector came and declared aloud his choice and this was registered. The transaction frequently continued for some weeks.

Since the eighteenth century electoral corruption had been complained of, and it had increased with the wealth of the country. The House of Commons, which ought to have represented the nation, only represented the families of the seigniors and the great fortunes. The Whigs had demanded a reform almost every year since 1808; but the Tory party, which was in the majority from 1783 to 1830, always spurned the project.

The Whigs labored to win over the public to the plan of reform. Until that time the citizens generally had not been interested in politics, the sittings of Parliament were secret, the newspapers had rather a small circulation. But at the end of the eighteenth century a change had taken place; the population of the cities had greatly increased since the industries had been revived by the aid of machines, and a public eager for news had grown up. From 1769 to 1792 six large daily journals had been founded, which began to report what went on in the House of Commons. The number of copies sold rose annually from 7,000,000 in 1753 to 16,000,000 in 1801, and 25,000,000 in 1825. In 1808 and 1809 two great reviews[1] were founded. The publication of reports of parliamentary proceedings began in 1801. After 1815 the parties began to stir up public opinion by holding in the open air great political meetings, where the orators spoke from platforms or from a carriage. These meetings were preceded or followed by processions composed of the followers of the party, who passed through the streets carrying banners and proclamations. There were organized political associations, whose members paid a subscription and named a committee

[1] The "Edinburgh Review," by the Whigs, the "Quarterly Review," by the Tories.

to make a propaganda in favor of reform—in 1823, the Catholic Association for the abolition of the test oath; in 1830 the Birmingham Association for electoral reform. Thus were organized in England two new[1] forces, the press and public opinion, which in counterbalancing the influence of the king and of the great lords, returned the majority to the hands of the Whigs and restored the authority of Parliament. To-day we could no longer conceive of a parliamentary government without the journals and without public opinion. It is said that the principal English journal, the "Times," is the fourth power, and also that public opinion is a sovereign.

This transformation led finally to an electoral reform in 1832. The king, George IV., who had obstinately opposed any change, died in 1830. The Whigs united with the discontented Tories and formed a majority; they demanded reform. The chief of the Tory ministry was an old general, the conqueror of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington. He ascended the tribune and declared that he had heard nothing which proved that the system of representation should be modified; he went still further: if he were charged with making a law for a country he could not find a better than the one then existing, for human nature is incapable of such excellence. After that declaration the House voted against the ministry, which withdrew. The Whig ministry which succeeded were two years in bringing about a reform; they presented the bill three times.

The reform of 1832 was a compromise. They did not

[1] It has been represented for a long time that the English political life of the eighteenth century was like that of the nineteenth. The difference is, that in the eighteenth, everything was done secretly, and that in the nineteenth everything was done in the light of day. What is new is the publicity.

desire to establish a regular system founded solely on the number of the inhabitants.

They reserved the custom of public vote, but it was decided that the balloting could last only two days.

The same number of representatives was preserved (658) and the two categories of representatives from counties and from boroughs, but they were satisfied to take away from the boroughs some of their seats and give them to the counties: 56 rotten boroughs, with less than 2,000 souls lost their 111 representatives, 30 boroughs with less than 4,000 souls had only 1 representative instead of 2, and two boroughs were reduced to 3. Thus 143 seats were gained which were reapportioned, 65 were given to the counties (which, in place of 94, now had 159), 44 were given to 22 large cities, which had been hitherto unrepresented, 20 were given to 20 medium-sized cities; the remainder were divided between Ireland and Scotland.

The right of the elector remained a privilege reserved for those who possessed an income from landed property; they were satisfied to enlarge the franchise by giving the right to vote to all the proprietors in the counties who had a revenue of forty shillings and to all the farmers whose revenue amounted to fifty pounds, in the boroughs to every tenant of a lease of ten pounds.

This reform increased the number of electors 50 per cent.; instead of one elector to every thirty-two inhabitants there was one for every twenty-two. The new electors were chiefly farmers and shop-keepers. The workmen still were excluded from the right of suffrage.

Many were discontented and formed the great Labor Association. Already, in 1816 and in 1819, a party called radical had made some manifestations for the pur-

pose of demanding universal suffrage; in 1837 the discontented workingmen again took up the programme of the radicals and drew up a petition to Parliament, where they set forth the demands of their party. They called it the People's Charter. It demanded that all the inhabitants should have the right to vote and to be chosen members of Parliament, that the representatives should be paid, that the country should be divided into districts, with an equal number of inhabitants, that the vote should be secret, by depositing a ballot instead of subscribing the name on a public register. The chartists also complained of the misery of the people. "The English constitution," said they, "signifies nothing for us but forced labor or starvation." They held large meetings at night; carried arms, and marched through the streets with torches. Three different times (1839, 1843, 1848) they got up a monster petition signed with 3,000,000 names. They obtained nothing from Parliament. In 1872 only was it possible for the prime minister Gladstone to establish the system of the secret ballot.

The House of Commons since the reform has been much more obedient to the will of the people, more docile, more careful of the interests of the mass of the population, and more active. The printed proceedings of the House from 1824 to 1832 filled thirty-one volumes, since 1832 the number is about fifty volumes. The discussions of Parliament have been better known to the public; the old law which ordered them to be held secretly has not been repealed, but the custom has been established of allowing a stenographic report to be published in the journals, and a place was provided for the accommodation of the reporters. As for the votes of the representatives, which had been

withheld from the public, the House itself has had them published ever since 1836. At the same time the journals have lowered their price since the suppression of the stamp duty (they have been put at one penny); by the railways and the post they have been able to penetrate rapidly everywhere. Whatever is done in the House of Commons in the evening is known the next day throughout all England. The journals have remained few in numbers (seven or eight in London), but they sell a great many copies, which greatly increases the power of each. Meetings have become more frequent, the associations stronger and better organized. Nothing has been changed in the forms, no written constitution has been drawn up, the House continues to deliberate according to the same customs, the acts are conceived according to the same formula. The Speaker always wears a wig, he is assisted by the herald, who places on the desk the mace, the representatives continue to speak from their seats. But according as the political life has become more active the importance of the Lower House has increased, and the less have the Lords dared to oppose the representatives of the nation. The greater number of Lords excuse themselves from sitting in their House; often there are not more than fifteen; usually they accept, without opposition, the laws voted by the Commons. The king has kept his prerogative, all the acts of the government are done in his name; he has the right to choose his ministers and to dissolve Parliament. But it is a firmly established custom to-day that the king must choose his ministers from the leaders of the majority, and that the ministers withdraw altogether as soon as one of them is placed in the minority. Queen Victoria, who ascended

the throne in 1837, never departed from that custom. It is doubtful whether a king could evade it in the future.

Since 1832 the power has always depended upon the majority in the House of Commons, that is, indirectly upon the will of the voters. Therefore, it has changed hands at each change in public opinion. From 1715 to 1832 two parties, the Whigs and the Tories, held the ministry, each one for half a century; between 1832 and 1896 each party has fallen from power ten times and returned ten times. Both have been organized in such a manner as to be united in the opposition as well as in the government; each has its recognized chief or leader, who becomes prime minister when his party is in power; each has its ministry all ready.[1]

Thus was fixed in England, during the nineteenth century, the system of parliamentary government, which had only been outlined in the eighteenth century. Thus were established all the fundamental customs which people in Europe have been accustomed to regard as inherent in this régime.

There is a hereditary sovereign in whose name the country is governed, but who exercises no power. "The king reigns, he does not govern." The Parliament is composed of two chambers, but the non-elective chamber (the House of Lords) has no other power but to ratify or reject the laws. The Commons alone votes the budget and controls the conduct of the ministry.

The cabinet is chosen from the party of the majority, and has for a chief the leader of the party; eleven officials

[1] After 1832 the Tory party took the name Conservative, and the Whig that of Liberal.

always have seats in the cabinet, and usually from three to five others. The ministers consider together in council the measures to be taken, and when the majority of the council has come to a decision, each minister is obliged to sustain it or to withdraw.

The ministers are responsible to the House of Commons; not only can they be accused by the House, but the moment that the vote is against their measure they must resign. They are jointly and severally responsible; all must retire at the same time as soon as one of them is put in the minority. As soon as Parliament is assembled it listens to a speech from the throne, where the minister in the name of the king sets forth the situation of the country and indicates his policy. It responds by an address, in which the sentiments of the representatives are expressed. Each year the budget for the following year is voted. No tax can be levied until voted for; the refusal to vote is an arm which the House could use against the ministry, provided it obstinately remained in office when no longer supported by the majority. In reference to each project for a law or for credit the ministry may ask for a vote of confidence from the House, that is, it may declare that it will withdraw unless the House gives it a majority. The House may, on its part, manifest dissatisfaction by an order of the day. The subjects for consideration at each sitting are arranged in advance by the order of the day; but before the discussion begins any member has the right to ask for an interpellation of the ministry. The interpellation ends with a vote of the House to pass to the order of the day, but often the House expresses its opinion concerning the interpellation in some phrase which precedes the formula: "Pass to the order of the day," and

if that opinion be unfavorable to the ministry, it must withdraw.

The ministry, when placed in the minority, has the right to ask of the king the dissolution of the Parliament. This is a procedure for making the electors judges between the members and the government. The ministry remains in place during the elections. If the new House does not give it a majority, it must retire. To dissolve the newly elected House would be regarded a "coup d'état," since the nation has pronounced, and it is the sovereign. (In England the duration of a Parliament is fixed by law, and the time is seven years; but it is the custom to dissolve it before the limit is reached. No House of Commons has existed beyond six years.)

Usually the projects for new laws are presented to the House by the ministers, but every member has the right to propose a new project or to amend an old law. This is called parliamentary initiative.

Every measure, before it is brought forward for public discussion, has to be examined by a committee. (The House often constitutes itself the committee; in that case there is no vote, only discussion.) The other committees are formed of several members designated by the presiding officer.[1]

Every project for a law must be discussed three times, in three readings, and each article must be voted upon separately each time, unless the House has voted that there is urgency; then one reading is sufficient.

In order that the deliberation or vote may be valid

[1] In the European countries which have adopted parliamentary government, the committees are chosen by the House divided into bureaux or sections. This system has been employed in France since 1789.

there must be a certain proportion of numbers, a quorum, present at the sitting or taking part in the vote.

A project passed by the House does not become a law until it has been voted upon by the upper House and has been signed by the king, but it is not customary for the king to refuse his signature.

All this mechanism was organized in England during the reciprocal government of the two parties. It has worked with regularity because there were only two parties, both respecting usage and ready to yield place to the rival party the moment that the majority had changed. These parties are similar to two constituted governments, between which the electors must choose without being able to get rid of the alternative. Any sudden change is therefore impossible, and yet neither of the two parties can abuse its power for a very long time, for such abuse causes dissatisfaction among the electors, and sends them over to the adverse party. Therefore this game of reciprocity between the two parties is considered to be one of the fundamental conditions in parliamentary government.

The Charter of 1814, and the Restoration in France.— In 1814 the Bourbons, on returning to power, had promised to respect the institutions of the Revolution and of the empire. The condition of society was not changed— it remained democratic. The French were to be equal before the law, and to be eligible to all the offices. The ancient privileges were abolished, and the national possessions remained in the hands of the new proprietors. The administration was not changed. It remained centralized; all public service, the finances, the judiciary, the government, the police, the army, even the division

into departments, remained just what they had been made during the Revolution; the creations of Napoleon, the Code, the Legion of Honor, the Bank, the University, were preserved. The populace had revolted against the empire to the cry of "Down with conscription and the tax on beverages." These two detested institutions had to be abolished; in their places were created a recruiting system and indirect taxes.

Consequently France was, from 1814, provided with an administration and social organization which has hardly been changed since, and which has formed a solid basis for the life of the French people. But it had not yet a systematized mechanism of government, such as existed in England. It was necessary to fix some rules by which the power could be divided, to give a constitution, as they said, and to make it a part of their principles. It took sixty years to do it (1814–1875). The first constitution dates from 1814; the allied sovereigns and the French statesmen, enemies to the absolutism of Napoleon, admired the English parliamentary system. They advised Louis XVIII. to introduce it into France. The Senate even drew up a constitution which set forth the principles of the sovereignty of the people: "The French people, without constraint, calls to the throne Louis Stanislas Xavier, brother of the last king. The constitution accepted by the people, the king must swear to obey it, and must sign it before being proclaimed sovereign."

The new king refused to ratify this constitution. He wanted first to take possession of the throne, and it was only after he had been recognized as king that he ordered a new instrument drawn up. Intentionally he avoided the name constitution, and took again a name from the

Middle Ages. He called it "Constitutional Charter." Himself he entitled Louis XVIII., by the grace of God King of France, and dated the charter in the "twenty-first year" of his reign. All these forms were chosen to indicate that in the eyes of the king none of the governments in France since the death of Louis XVI. had been legal; the real sovereigns had been his nephew, Louis XVII., and himself, since the death of his nephew; the authority belonged to him of divine right by heritage, and it was an absolute power which he alone had the right to limit, by an act of his will solely. That was, the sovereignty of France belonged to the king, not to the nation. From this arose the discontent of the liberals. But under its absolutist forms the Charter of 1814 established a constitutional government. It transplanted into France the political usage of England, such as was practised by the Tory party. The government was shared by three powers: the king and the two chambers. The king had the executive power, he nominated and dismissed the ministers, he had the right to dissolve the Chamber, the ministers were responsible. The Upper Chamber was formed of peers designated by the king, then hereditary like the Lords; it ratified the laws. The Lower Chamber was elective, it voted the laws and the budgets; the peers and the deputies received no pay. The press was free, as in England. It was the English system copied in detail (speech from the throne, address of the House, commissions, etc.).

The Charter left in suspense two practical questions which had to be regulated by laws: 1. How should the Chamber of Deputies be chosen? 2. How should the liberty of the press be regulated? These laws, not being incorporated in the charter, could always be brought up

for discussion. The English system itself, at the epoch when it served as a model, was still more undecided on one point: What were the rights of the king in his relations to the House of Commons? Was he obliged to take his ministers from the majority? The question was not yet decided in England, still less was it decided in France. Therefore, from 1814 to 1835, the electoral law, the laws concerning the press, and the power of the king were the great fields for parliamentary conflict.

For the electoral system, and for the press as well as for the constitution, the French statesmen found their model in England.

There was no disposition to give all the people the right to choose their deputies; the Revolution had aroused a terror of universal suffrage; a right as dangerous as that of choosing their own representatives could be given only to a small number of picked men. On the principle according to which this choice was to be made, there was no hesitation. As in England, the amount of wealth was made the basis in deciding that it should be established according to the direct tax the quit-rent became (until 1848) the measure of the right of suffrage; the only electors were those who held rent-rolls. From 1814 the quit-rent was placed at a high figure; it was necessary to pay 300 francs direct tax to become an elector, and 1,000 francs to be eligible for an office. The electors gathered in the chief city of the department or of the arrondissement. This system lasted until 1830; during that period there were not more than 110,000 electors out of a population of 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 souls. The French found themselves divided into two classes: the masses of the nation excluded from all political rights, and the tax-payers, who were

furnished with the privilege of, in themselves, representing the entire nation. (After 1830 the tax-payers were called the legally constituted country; before the political law they were in fact the whole country.)[1] The political press was also organized in the English fashion; each number was to bear a stamp of five centimes, carriage by post then cost ten centimes; the sale of single copies was then unknown—there were only subscribers. The journal was therefore a costly luxury reserved for the bourgeoisie; in 1830 there were not more than 60,000 or 70,000 subscribers. The people did not read. They were kept in complete ignorance of political life, which was a privilege belonging to the bourgeoisie. In order to found a journal it was necessary to deposit a heavy security; therefore, there were very few journals, three or four for each party; each had so much the more powerful influence over its readers. What increased that influence still more was that, according to English usage, the articles were not signed. Restrained within these limits the press was declared to be free as in England, but with a prohibition against attacking the king and the constitution.

In this manner was the English system transplanted into France. But it was impossible to transplant English manners, and parties were organized in a way totally different from the English method. The French deputies, less amenable to discipline, were not willing to be massed into two parties; they were gathered in several

[1] The principal difference was in the application of the common principle that fortune alone gave the right of suffrage; the English electoral franchise was much less than the French "quit-rent"; with less population England had twenty times as many electors; political life there was not exclusively bourgeois.

small groups; the groups were in France just what the parties were in England, the dominant trait of the public life. As each group followed its own policy, and wanted to have the authority, the English system of reciprocity was impracticable, at least until one group should have in itself a majority. No leader of a majority could be found in order to form a ministry. A ministry could not be maintained except by uniting several groups for its support, and even this compromise gave it but a precarious existence, for all the groups excluded from power could form a coalition, and by voting contrary to the ministry, cause its downfall. For the ministers this was a strong temptation to corrupt or to intimidate the electors in order to secure for themselves a sure majority. Therefore, the government in France has always, much more than in England, used political pressure in elections, and has had more means of doing so, because, since the time of Napoleon, all the authority in every province is exercised by the functionaries, who are numerous and dependent upon the ministers.

The parliamentary government then had need of quite moderate parties in order to respect the usages which made up the constitution. It seemed in 1814 that the charter would be accepted by all; compared with the government of Napoleon it appears very liberal. The Bourbons were incontestably the family which brought the greatly desired peace. The personnel of the government was not changed. Louis XVIII. kept Napoleon's ministers, eighty-four of the Senators, and the entire Chamber of Deputies. New France seemed to be reconciled to old France in this system of parliamentary government.

The lack of tact of the Bourbons and the return of Napoleon made reconciliation impossible. Without touching any of the new institutions, the Bourbons allowed their friends, the émigrés, to use such language as to frighten or wound all the people interested in maintaining things as they were—those who had acquired national domains, the nobles of the empire, the functionaries, the officers, and the peasants. The army especially was irritated, the officers for having been put on half-pay, the soldiers for having lost the tricolored flag, which had been replaced by the white flag of the Bourbons. That is the reason why Napoleon found at once on his return to France that the army and the peasants were on his side, and why the parliamentary system of the charter crumbled to pieces. Napoleon, in order to have the support of the Republicans, established a constitutional government, which he had ratified by universal suffrage. After Waterloo this system fell, in its turn, and the charter was reëstablished. But that Revolution of the Hundred Days had left ineffaceable traces. The excited royalists persecuted the men who had rallied about Napoleon and tried to destroy the work of the Revolution. The partisans of the new institutions, through hatred of the royalists, grouped together—imperialists and republicans—around the tricolored flag; Napoleon, whom the republicans had detested as a tyrant, was regarded as the defender of the Revolution against the Bourbons, who wanted to bring back the old régime. Thus two extreme parties were formed in France, the ultra-royalists (called the Ultras), who talked of establishing the old régime, the absolute authority of the king, and the privileges of the nobility and clergy; the Republican

Bonapartists (they called themselves the Liberal party), who wished for the downfall of the Bourbons. Neither of these two parties respected the Charter. The Liberals were a revolutionary party; they demanded not only, as did the Whigs, the liberal reforms, but they were ready to overthrow the monarchy created by the constitution; the Ultras were the reactionary party; for they were not contented as were the Tories, with rejecting all attempts at reform; they wanted to go back to the old forms of government, to a régime which could not be restored save through revolution. Between these two parties hostile to the constitution were formed two constitutional groups, the moderate royalists (the Right), partisans of the continuance of the present order, like the Tories, and the liberal royalists (Doctrinaires), partisans of a government based on the English model.

In 1815, the elections having been held during the invasion and the White Terror, the Ultras had the majority in the Chamber (this was the "Matchless Chamber"). It demanded that the national domains be returned to the clergy, the public debt be repudiated, the liberal magistrates be removed, and that the University be suppressed. The king opposed them; the Doctrinaires, in order to save the work of the Revolution, took sides against the Chamber and with the king. The Chamber demanded that the king should take his ministry from the majority. The Doctrinaires maintained that the king was free to choose his ministers. Royer-Collard said in 1816: "From the day when the government should only be composed of the majority in the Chamber, and when it should be an established fact that it could dismiss the ministers of the king, it would be all over not only with the consti-

tution, but with independent royalty. From that day we should have a Republic." The Chamber wanted to lower the "quit-rent" to fifty francs, which would have made 2,000,000 electors. The Doctrinaires insisted upon the continuance of the "quit-rent" at 300 francs, because they had more confidence in the defence of liberty by the upper bourgeoisie than by the small proprietors. Louis XVIII. got rid of the Ultras by suddenly dissolving the Chamber, and by issuing an ordinance which restored the electoral law of 1814. The institutions were saved, but the nation remained separate from the political government, and the king kept the control of affairs in his own hands, which prevented the establishment of the true parliamentary system.

Between 1816 and 1829 the Constitution was regularly in force; the Liberals stirred up the country, organized secret societies and military conspiracies, wrote pamphlets and manifested their opposition to the existing government, but they had only a few deputies in the Chamber; the Ultras, too, formed only a small group. The two constitutional centres composed almost the whole Chamber. The ministry chosen by the king was sustained by a majority; the ministry Decaze by the Doctrinaires, from 1816 to 1820 (this was the period of liberal reforms); the ministry Villèle by the Right, from 1820 to 1827 (the reforms were stopped, the Chamber even voted for reactionary laws, some of which were rejected by the peers). In 1827 all the enemies of the Villèle ministry formed an alliance and obtained a majority in the Chamber (360 against 70). Charles X. would not have a ministry from the Left, and he took one from the Right Centre (Martignac). The government of the Restoration perished in

a conflict between the two extreme parties. Charles X. did not accept the parliamentary system of government. "I should prefer to saw wood," said he, "rather than to be king under the same conditions as the king of England." "In France it is the king who governs; he asks counsel of the Chambers, he considers seriously their opinions, and their representations, but when he is not convinced it is his will which must rule." In 1829 he chose a ministry from the Ultras (Polignac), which had all the other parties for its enemies. The Chamber pronounced against it by the address of the 222; the king kept his ministers and dissolved the Chamber. The new Chamber, chosen in 1830, was about to be still more hostile. Charles X. wanted to do the same thing that had succeeded under Louis XVIII., in 1816. Article 14 of the charter said: "The king shall issue the necessary decrees for the execution of the laws and for the surety of the state." Charles X. issued three decrees: he dissolved the new Chamber before it had assembled, changed the electoral law, and established the censorship of the press (July, 1830). The general opinion was that the king had exceeded his authority, that the decrees were veritable laws, and that not having been voted on by the Chambers, they were illegal. The journalists of Paris signed a protest, the deputies present in Paris decided upon legal resistance. But these legal means could not prevail against the government armed with force.

A Republican party was formed in Paris. It was recruited among the workingmen and the students, few in numbers (from 8,000 to 10,000 men), without a deputy, without a journal, but organized and armed. It was this body which made the Revolution of 1830; they took

arms, constructed barricades[1] in the narrow streets in the eastern part of Paris, and raised the tricolor. The government had not forseen the disturbance. There were not more than 11,000 troops stationed in Paris. In three days the insurgents had possession of the city. Charles X., "losing his head," did not try to retake it, but left France. The deputies assembled in Paris during the combat, and, having negotiated with Charles X., preferred to take up another royal family and accepted the Duke of Orleans, who promised again to set up the tricolor and to defend parliamentary government. The tricolored flag had remained popular, all the cities and towns raised it, and Louis Philippe was recognized without resistance.

The Charter of 1830 and the Monarchy of July.—The Revolution of 1830 had been organized in the name of the sovereignty of the nation. The new king had accepted it. He had himself called "Louis Philippe I. by the grace of God, and by the will of the nation, king of the French." It was necessary to make a new constitution. This was the Charter of 1830. It was no longer granted to the nation by the will of the king; it was established by the nation, and received the assent of the king, who swore to respect its requirements. Article 14, that Charles X. had invoked, was abrogated. The censorship of the press was forever prohibited. The Chamber received the right to elect its own presiding officer. The charter promised laws concerning the jury system, the national guard, the administration, and liberty of instruction. This promise was effected by two laws of 1831; the Chamber of Peers, which was hereditary, was given

[1] They had already in 1827 constructed some barricades, the first since the time of the Fronde. There were none during the Revolution.

a life tenure; the electoral quit-rent was lowered from 300 francs to 200 francs. There were then 150,000 electors (200,000 in 1848).

The question was thus decided in favor of the Chamber. It was the Chamber, not the king, who was sovereign. Parliamentary government seemed to be established in France. But there always remained two extreme parties who were hostile to the constitution, on the right the Legitimists, who would not recognize the usurping king, on the left the Republicans, who complained that they had been deceived in 1830. The king, while affecting all the time a submission to the majority in the Chamber, was not resigned to his rôle of constitutional king; he wanted to choose his ministers, to work with them, to direct the policy of the ministry; instead of conforming his government to the will of the majority, he tried to make the majority docile to the royal will.

From 1830 to 1835 the two parties, the royalist Left and the Republicans, disputed over the control of the parliament. Louis Philippe, in order to make himself acceptable to the Republicans, masters of the Hôtel de Ville, had formed a friendship with the leaders, Lafayette and Laffitte, and had formed a ministry composed of five Republicans and four Royalists. The contest went on even in the ministry; the party of "progress" (Republicans) wanted a democratic policy and intervention in favor of the insurgent peoples in Europe; the party of "resistance" (Royalists) wanted to preserve the domination of the bourgeoisie, and also preserve peace with the great powers. The king, who was a partisan of resistance, wanted to let the men who were in favor of agitation wear themselves out. He allowed Republicans

alone to remain in the ministry (Laffitte) and to be masters of Paris. It was thought that they were going to war with Europe. The country became afraid, the three per cent. "rentes" fell to 52 francs 70 centimes; the 5 per cent. to 82 francs 50 centimes. The Chamber abandoned Laffitte, and the king chose a royalist ministry (Casimir Périer, 1831). The Republican party had lost every chance of getting into power through the Chamber. It tried to renew the revolution of 1830, organized societies of workingmen, founded a journal, and stirred up several disturbances in the city of Paris. The government ordered the condemnation of the journals and the secret societies; aided by the National Guard it suppressed the riots, at the same time it crushed out the uprising of the Legitimists in the west. Order was reëstablished in 1835.

From 1835 to 1840 the contest was transferred to the Chamber of Deputies between the two constitutional parties, the Left Centre (Thiers) and the Doctrinaires, who had become the Right Centre (Guizot); but there was an intermediate group, the Third party, and two extreme groups. Besides, the king, instead of giving the ministry to the party that had the majority, and retaining it until it should be put in the minority, chose for ministers his friends outside of the majority, or dismissed the ministers who would not follow his policy. The ministries fell quickly before a coalition or before the opposition of the king; from 1832 to 1840 there were eight of them. This was the time of brilliant combats in oratory; the discussion of the address to the king in 1838 lasted twelve days; 128 speeches were made. But the parliamentary régime did not succeed in founding a lasting government.

In 1840 the king made a definite alliance with the Right

Centre and gave the ministry in charge of Guizot. His policy was to assure himself of the support of the Chamber by having deputies elected who had no opinions, and who were always induced to vote for the ministry. He did not appeal to the political convictions of the electors, but to their personal interests, giving to the electors the tobacco-shops, pensions, employment, and to the deputies appointments. This plan was so much the more effective as the deputies did not receive any salary. Nearly one-half of the Chamber was composed of officials. The policy of Guizot was to avoid all trouble with Europe and to make no reforms in France. This régime lasted eight years, the majority ever increasing; never was it greater than in the elections of 1846. But the mass of the nation proved to be more and more discontented; the government was reproached for its narrow-minded policy and for its system of corruption. A reform was demanded. 1. The "cense" should be lowered and "capacity" added, that is, to the electors who had a certain income should be added people of education (they had been on the lists of jurors since 1827). 2. The deputies should be forbidden to hold office. France was divided into two camps. On one side the king, the ministry, the Chamber, and the qualified electors agreed to refuse everything, they who alone had all the power, for they composed the "legal nation"; on the other side the opposition, composed of all the rest of the country, who had political opinions, but who were deprived of any means of action.

In appearance it was parliamentary government, pure and simple; the king seemed to be the executor of the will of the majority of the elected Chamber of Deputies; but, thanks to the tax-rating and to electoral corruption, the

Chamber, instead of representing the nation, was nothing but the assembly of the king's servants. The English parliamentary régime, under the direction of a minister who had been professor of English History, was nothing but a "façade" behind which was preserved the personal government of the king.

Parliamentary Government in Belgium.—The kingdom of the Netherlands, to which Belgium had been annexed in 1814, had a constitutional government, but it was very imperfect; the king had kept the right to choose his ministers, who were irresponsible, and to direct the governmental policy. The king, a native of Holland and living there, favored his own people, and aroused discontent among his Belgian subjects to such a degree that they united, revolted, and drove the Dutch troops from their territory (1830). France took them under her protection, and obtained permission from the Great Powers for Belgium to be detached from the Netherlands and to be organized as a constitutional monarchy.

A congress of deputies was summoned, a king was chosen, and a constitution was drawn up, which was not modified until 1893. Society in Belgium as well as in Holland had been transformed by the twenty years of French domination; there remained neither privileges nor classes nor provinces. The constitution established equality before the law, and all provinces were organized in the same manner.

The Belgians were divided into two parties, the Liberals, partisans of a constitutional government by the laity; the Catholics, partisans of the authority of the Church; in 1830 the two parties had been united and the revolution was declared in the name of liberty.

All kinds of liberty were then inscribed in the constitution, liberty of person, domicile, speech, press, worship, education, assembly, and association.

The Belgians admired the English system, such as it was, carried out by the Whigs; the Congress declared: "For a form of government the Belgian people do adopt a representative constitutional monarchy under a hereditary chief." There were three powers, the king, the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies; the king was hereditary and irresponsible, but he was not sovereign. Sovereignty belonged to the nation represented by parliament; the king nominated his ministers and could dissolve the Chamber, but the ministers were responsible to the Chamber, they would withdraw when in the minority; the Chamber voted the budget. Contrary to English usage, the Senate was elected by the same voters who elected the Chamber, it could be dissolved, and both were renewed in sections. As in England, the right to vote was allied to the tax-roll. To be an elector one must be a rate-payer, the rate varying according to the district or place, but it could not be less than 42 francs.

The most difficult question to regulate was the organization of the church. The Liberals would have liked to keep the control of the church in the hands of the state, as is the case among almost all civilized peoples. The Catholic party demanded in the name of liberty the complete independence of the church. Nothomb, one of the leaders, said to the Congress: "It depends upon ourselves to exercise a glorious initiative and to unreservedly ordain one of the greatest principles of modern civilization. For centuries two powers have been in conflict, the civil power and the religious power;

they dispute over society as if the rule of the one excluded that of the other. The whole of Europe is interested in this conflict which we have been called upon to stop. There are two worlds face to face, the civil and the religious. They coexist without mingling, touching each other at no point. We want the law to be declared incompetent in religious affairs. There is no more relation between religion and the state than there is between geometry and the state. Let us mark our progress by a great principle, let us proclaim the separation of these two powers." The Liberals yielded and the Congress proclaimed the separation of church and state.

In Belgium the understanding of this measure was as follows. The church was freed from the authority of the laymen, the bishops were directly appointed by the pope, and themselves appointed the priests; religious orders could be formed in the country, could acquire property, and could receive legacies. They were subject to no restriction nor surveillance. But the church preserved all the privileges that she had received from the state before the separation; the ecclesiastics continued to receive their salaries from the state, to be exempt from military service, to receive military honors; the clergy kept possession of the cemeteries and of the right to watch over the schools. There were henceforth in Belgium two official powers, the government and the clergy, both independent and sovereign. They were not long in coming into conflict.

From 1831 to 1845 parties for the contest were not yet organized. They were busy arranging a peace with Holland (which was not definitive until 1839), and in recovering from an economical crisis which had followed

the revolution. Like the English of the eighteenth century, they still had the idea that the government should not belong to one party only. And with this intention, they formed the ministry of Liberals and Catholics; they hoped thus to destroy the parties which were regarded as sources of danger to the government. "The country," said the Minister for Justice in 1848, "is exposed to disastrous divisions that will develop soon, if they are not stopped in time; this classification of Catholic and Liberal has no meaning in the presence of the great principles of liberty, which are consecrated by one constitution."

The Catholic party, more thoroughly organized, thanks to the clergy, profited by this system in order to pass the law of 1842, which established religious instruction in all the primary schools, and confided it to the care of the clergy. "No primary instruction without moral and religious education," said Nothomb. "We break away from the philosophical doctrines of the eighteenth century, which have professed to completely secularize instruction and to constitute society on a purely rational basis."

The Liberals, disturbed by the influence of the clergy, organized their party; in 1846 a Congress of 320 Liberal delegates from all Belgium gathered at the Hôtel de Ville in Brussels, formed an alliance and discussed the programme of the party. Its device was "Independence of the civil power." It demanded the organization of a system of public instruction in all grades, under the exclusive direction of the civil authority, while giving to this authority constitutional means to maintain a competition with private establishments, and to repel the intervention of the ministers of public worship in the system of education organized by the civil power." This is called to-

day lay education. The Liberals demanded, in addition, "the lowering of the rates, and the amelioration which the conditions of the working classes imperiously demand."

From 1846 the Chamber had remained divided into two parties, which alternately had had a majority, and had formed a ministry (from 1847 to 1884 each one arose and fell three times). The Catholic party, more thoroughly organized, had for its support all the rural districts of Flemish Belgium; the Liberal party, more clamorous, controlled the whole of French Belgium. The great Flemish cities, Ghent and Antwerp, oscillated between the two parties, and decided the majority; the victory in those cities was the prelude to a victory in the country. The conflict bore upon all the elections, for the Senate, the Chamber, the provincial and the communal councils.

Thus the Belgian parliamentary system, like the English, seemed to rest upon the equilibrium of the two parties. But the difference between these two parties was much greater in Belgium; this was not only a struggle between two political systems, but it was a combat between two social conditions, whose education and principles were absolutely opposed to each other. Therefore the irritation continued to increase, and it was not at all certain that the parties would continue to respect the constitution.

The Parliamentary System in the Other European States.—The three great monarchies of the East, which in 1815 had formed the Holy Alliance—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—had remained absolute monarchies down to the year 1848; the ministers chosen by the sovereign

governed without any control, the nation was not represented by any elected body; the provincial assemblies, where they were preserved, had no other rôle but to aid the government in levying the taxes. The King of Prussia, who, in 1815, had promised to give his subjects a written constitution, had refused down to the time of his death (1840) to keep his promise, and his successor, in calling the provincial assemblies to Berlin (1847), had declared that the assembly was not sovereign, and that he did not want any written constitution.

The three absolute governments regarded each other as ever interested in maintaining the absolute monarchy in the states subject to their influence; the constitutional régime among foreign peoples seemed to them a very dangerous example to set before their subjects; they strove, therefore, to prevent the sovereigns of Central Europe, Germany and Italy, from granting constitutions.

Austria succeeded in this measure until 1847 in Italy; no sovereign would consent to the establishment of a constitution or to the election of a representative assembly; when the subjects, in rebellion, obliged their rulers to accept a liberal government (at Naples in 1820, in the States of the Church and in the duchies in 1830), the Austrian arms came to reestablish by force the absolute authority.

In Germany the action of the Congress declared that in the territories belonging to the Confederation "there should be representation of the states." The original text declared: "There should be (soll) representation," and it fixed the period "at the end of one year;" but this was erased and "soll" was replaced by "wird." This was nothing more than an invitation, it was not a law.

Each prince was independent and could establish the order that he desired.

In the states of the South (Wurtemberg, Baden, Bavaria), which the French domination had reorganized and increased, and in the Grand-Duchy of Weimar, the princes (from 1816 to 1819) had ordered that written constitutions should be drawn up, and this was done notwithstanding the warnings of the Great Powers. Each state had its parliament, usually formed of two Chambers; the Chamber elected by the rate-payers voted the tax and the laws; but it was the prince who appointed the ministers, without any consideration of the majority. In these poor countries, where there were few wealthy burghers, the electors found scarcely any one capable of being a deputy who was not a functionary; even the opposition was recruited from among the employees of the government; it was admitted that an official could as deputy oppose the government. But the ministry had a means of breaking up the opposition, as he could refuse leave of absence to the functionary deputy.

In the states of Northern Germany the princes preferred to keep the former aristocratic assemblies of the state, which they rarely convoked, at intervals of several years, when a new law had to be made or a new tax levied.

Some princes persisted in governing alone, without being willing to grant a constitution. Their subjects rebelled in 1830 and succeeded in obliging them to accede to their demands; but Austria intervened and restored absolute power.

Therefore the parliamentary system could not take root in Germany. During the period from 1815 to 1848 the liberal Germans were accustomed to hate the governments

of Austria and Prussia, which oppressed them, and to admire France as a country of equality and liberty.

In the western extremity of Europe the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal had, in 1814, restored absolute authority, and also the Inquisition, which had been destroyed during the French occupation. They were despotically governed, Spain by the "advisers" of the king (camarilla) and by his confessor, Portugal by an English general and a commission of regents, in the absence of the king, who remained in Brazil. Modern books were forbidden, and the members of secret societies were condemned as criminals. The officers becoming more liberal through contact with the French and English armies, stirred up the soldiers of both countries to demand, in 1820, a constitution. The King of Spain again took up the constitution of 1812, an imitation of the French constitution of 1791, and the Cortes of Portugal voted for the same constitution in 1822. But the "servile party" (Absolutists) revolted in Spain to the cry of "Long live the absolute king! Down with the constitution!" The French government, in order to make a public demonstration of the doctrine of legitimacy, sent an army into Spain which restored the absolute party to power. The liberals were executed or deported (1823).

In Portugal the heir to the throne, having become Emperor of Brazil, sent his daughter to reign in his stead, and granted a charter to the country (1826). She established equality before the law, and all liberty save that of worship, for the Catholic was the only religion permitted. The government was organized according to the parliamentary type; the king, the Chamber of Hereditary Peers, the Chamber of Deputies, chosen by indirect elec-

tion through two series of electors, responsible ministers, the right of suffrage reserved for the property owners who had a revenue of 600 francs. To the three powers, admitted by the theories of the epoch (legislative, executive, judicial), was added a fourth, the modifying power, invented by a French writer, Benjamin Constant. This was the right to convoke and dissolve the Chamber, to choose ministers, to grant an amnesty or pardon; this power was confided to the king. Before the acts of this charter could be put in force, Miguel, the uncle of the young queen, had taken possession of absolute power.

The parliamentary system had been introduced into Spain and Portugal about the same time (1833) as a result of the divisions in the royal family and under the influence of the two great parliamentary states, England and France. In Spain Ferdinand died in 1833, and left a daughter, Isabella, and a brother, Carlos. According to the Salic law, which had been recognized in the kingdom since the advent of the Bourbons, the real heir was Carlos; but Ferdinand had issued a pragmatic sanction, which restored ancient usage in Spain, and gave the crown to Isabella and the regency to her mother, Cristina. The absolutist party supported the claims of Carlos. Cristina was obliged to look to the liberal party for support and to take her ministers from its ranks.

Likewise in Portugal the young Queen Maria, on reaching her majority, was again set on the throne, through an insurrection which expelled her uncle, Miguel. Civil war began in the two countries between the absolutist partisans of the two pretenders and the liberal partisans of the two queens. The pretenders had the support of the three absolute monarchies of Europe, the queens were

sustained by England and France, which formed with them the quadruple alliance of 1834.

The Portuguese government restored the Charter of 1826. The Spanish government drew up the Royal Statute of 1834, in which the regent promised to have the Cortes vote the laws and the taxes. The Cortes which became the Spanish Parliament, was composed of two chambers, the grandees (proceres) and the deputies (procuradores), chosen for three years by an indirect election through two series of electors. The electors were the rate-payers, the deputies were to have no salaries, and were obliged to possess an income of 12,000 francs.

In the two countries the absolutists had been vanquished (in Spain a bloody war of five years' duration was necessary to conquer the Carlists of the Pyrenees). The Liberals had divided into two parties: in Spain the Moderates (adherents of the royal power), and the Progressivists (partisans of the Cortes); in Portugal, the Chartists and the Septembrists. Under these names were concealed the ambitions of the party leaders. For a long time the two kingdoms had hardly anything but the mere form of a constitutional system, for the ministers were not responsible to the Chamber, and the government retained so much influence that in Spain and in Portugal the electors have always elected the candidates of the ministry. Besides the generals, rendered influential through the civil wars, intervened in the party quarrels and forced the sovereign to take them for ministers. There were in Spain, from 1833 to 1855, 47 presidents of the Council and 96 ministers of war. But the new régime has brought with it two great changes: the authority has been exercised by ministers and generals instead of by favorites and the con-

fessors; the Liberals have abolished the Inquisition and have taken the property of the convents in order to pay the national debt (in Portugal, 1834; in Spain, 1836), thus destroying the absolute domination of the clergy.

CHAPTER XI

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE FROM 1848 TO 1875

The Revolution of February.—In 1848, as in 1830, the government had two kinds of adversaries—the dynastic Left demanded electoral reform and the dismissal of the Guizot ministry; but while preserving parliamentary monarchy the Republican party wished for the overthrow of royalty.

The Left, led by Thiers and Barrot, had organized, for the purpose of stirring up public opinion, a series of banquets at which reform was demanded, but the usual toast to the king was always proposed. This party was supported by the journalists, the bourgeoisie, and the National Guard of Paris, all tax-payers. After 1840, the Republican party had been reformed; it was represented by a single deputy (Ledru-Rollin) and by a single journal "The Reform" (with less than 2,000 subscribers), but it had for support a part of the Paris workingmen, disciples of Louis Blanc, who were anxious for social reform. The Socialists (as they were called) complained that workmen in order to secure labor were obliged to accept conditions made by their employers, proprietors of the factories; they wanted the state to take upon itself the organization of labor, by establishing national workshops, where laborers would be employed by the state.

The struggle had begun over the question of electoral

reform, the Chamber had rejected it (February 11, 1848); then the government had prohibited a banquet, and the Left had protested without attempting any resistance. As in 1830, it was the Republican party that began the revolution; it took up arms, and shut itself up in barricades in the eastern quarter of Paris. The National Guard, in command of the western quarter of the city, took sides against the Guizot ministry. At this time the National Guard was supposed to represent public opinion in Paris, the only opinion of which any account was taken. In 1830 it had helped to establish the Orleans family in power, and in the constitution was inscribed: "The Charter and all the rights which it secures are confided to the patriotism and courage of the National Guard." Louis Philippe yielded to the demands of the National Guard, dismissed Guizot, and chose a ministry from the Left. The Reform party had conquered (February 23).

But the Republicans continued the revolution. A demonstration for the evening was organized; the troops, surprised, fired on the crowd. Some of the participants were killed, and the Republicans carried the bodies in carts through the boulevards of Paris. The next morning they took the offensive; the crowd seized the Tuileries, invaded the Palais Bourbon, and forced the Chamber to proclaim the fall of the royal house, and to establish a provisional government (February 24). The alliance of the Left with the Republicans had at this time brought victory to the latter party. Outside of the city the country was royalist, and afraid of a Republican form of government. But it was so accustomed to have its government arranged for it in Paris that the revolution was accepted without any opposition, and the delegates sent by the

provisional government were allowed to assume full authority throughout the provinces.

Universal Suffrage.—The provisional government proclaimed by the Chamber was composed of seven Moderate Republicans. Among them was Lamartine. At the same time another government was installed in the Hôtel de Ville; this was formed of Social Republicans. Among them was Louis Blanc.[1] The provisional government was obliged to go to the Hôtel de Ville and to accept the Socialist members of the government. They were given the title of secretary.

The contest between the two parties began immediately. The Socialists wanted a democratic and social[2] republic, with organization of labor by the state, and for a symbol the flag of the revolutionary workingmen, the red flag. The Moderates (the National party) wanted only a democratic republic, which would change nothing in regard to property, and they insisted upon retaining the tricolor as a symbol. The democratic Republicans carried off the victory on the question of the flag. The Republic retained the tricolor. They attempted to organize labor; national workshops were organized which were managed by a commission from the government, and were to employ workmen at the expense of the state. The revolution had put an end to all business; Paris was full of idle laborers; the state employed them at 1 franc 50 centimes per day; but as there was no work for them to do, they were set to work on the terraces of the Champ de Mars.

[1] The same thing had occurred at the time of the Revolution of 1830; but in 1830 the government formed in the Chamber had absorbed that of the Hôtel de Ville.

[2] Their enemies often called them communists, confounding them with the sects who proposed to establish community of goods.

The laborers were soon disgusted with this useless toil, to which they were unaccustomed, and they remained idle in the shops. There were 40,000 of them in the month of March, and 60,000 by the 16th of April. This experience under such conditions rendered the Socialists and the idea of the organization of labor unpopular.

There was the same disagreement in regard to the finances. The revolution had brought about a deficit in the receipts. The minister of finance proposed to secure the money by increasing the indirect taxes. The Progressive party refused because the burden of these taxes fell especially on the laborers; the government preferred to add to the direct tax an extraordinary tax of 45 centimes per franc. This tax made the peasant detest the Republic.

The two parties could not agree on the duration of the government. The Progressives wanted to delay the elections until the Republican party was organized. In a country that had had, they said, centuries of monarchical government, one year of a republic would not be too long a delay. The opposite party wanted to have a representative assembly at the earliest possible moment.

The two parties tried to frighten each other by demonstrations. The Socialists were supported by the workingmen, and the democratic Republicans by the National Guards, the bourgeois, and the students. They gained their point; and the government ordered an election, April 23d, for representatives to a constituent assembly. Every Frenchman of twenty-one years had the right to vote. They were not content with the electoral reform demanded by the opposition. In order that the Republic should be democratic the government was established on a new basis, universal suffrage. It already existed

in the United States and in Switzerland, where it had been gradually established; it had been tried in France for the election of the Convention of 1792. It was a part of revolutionary traditions and of republican usage. The Socialists demanded it in order to give the laborers power to demand of the government legislative reforms to ameliorate their condition. Universal suffrage seemed to be the necessary consequence of the institution of a republic, it was proclaimed as an incontrovertible principle. The Republicans of the government did not appear to have asked themselves, What use will the peasants make of this new power?

The Constituent Assembly was composed of 900 members, elected by general ticket in each department. A relative majority was sufficient for a choice. The electors went to the chief town of the canton for the purpose of depositing their ballots. The deputies received 25 francs a day for their services.

The Assembly consisted of a majority of moderate Republicans. They opposed the policy of the Socialists and ordered the closing of the national workshops. The Socialists, sustained by the dismissed laborers, invaded the Assembly (May 15th) and demanded a dissolution. The two parties engaged in a three days' combat in the streets of Paris (the Days of June). The army and the National Guards recaptured the quarters in the east from the insurgents. The Socialist party was definitively beaten, but the workingmen ceased to be interested in the "bourgeoise Republic," as they called it.

The Constitution of 1848.—The Constituent Assembly, delivered from its Socialist adversaries, set to work to draw up a constitution. It wanted to break away from

the aristocratic parliamentary régime, but without touching any social institutions. At the head of the Constitution was placed a declaration of principles. "In the presence of God, and in the name of the French people, the National Assembly proclaims: France is constituted a Republic. The French Republic is democratic. It recognizes rights and duties, anterior and superior to positive law. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; its foundations the family, labor, property and public order." A Legitimist deputy demanded an interpretation of the word democratic. "I desire that the word be understood in such a manner that it may not be held a pretext for gun-shots." The answer was: "Direct and universal suffrage is the interpreter of the word." The Constitution recognized all individual liberties, the right to form associations, to petition, to publish, it abolished negro slavery, the censorship of the press. Moreover, it proclaimed that it was the duty of society to assist its members in obtaining an education and in earning a livelihood. "The Republic must protect the citizen in his person, his family, his religion, his property, his labor, and must put within the reach of each one the instruction indispensable to all men. It must with fraternal aid assure the existence of needy citizens either by procuring them work within the limits of their capabilities, or by assisting those who are unable to work." The Assembly had refused to proclaim the rights of labor.

The Constituent Assembly declared that all public powers emanate from the people and cannot be delegated by inheritance. This was the sovereignty of the people in republican form.

For the organization of the government it returned to the theory of Montesquieu: "The division of powers is the first condition of a free government." (Art. 19.)

In consequence the French people "delegated the legislative power to a single assembly" and "the executive to one citizen," the President of the Republic. The two powers were entirely independent. The Assembly alone voted the budget and prepared the laws, and could not be dissolved. The President alone chose the ministers, who were not responsible. They had wanted to imitate the system of the United States. The Assembly was composed of one Chamber, elected on the general ticket. They did not want two Chambers, because a second House seemed to be an aristocratic institution. The president was elected directly by universal suffrage for a term of four years. The minority had proposed that he should be elected by the Assembly, pointing out the danger of confiding the executive power to inexperienced electors. The nephew of Napoleon I., Louis Napoleon, had just been elected deputy, and there was a fear lest he should try to seize the reins of the government. But Lamartine had fascinated the Assembly by an eloquent speech: "Even should the people choose the one whom my unenlightened foresight would perhaps fear to have elected, 'alea jacta est!' Let God and the nation speak. Something must be left to Providence. Let us invoke that aid; let us pray that the nation may be enlightened, and submit ourselves to that decree. And if the nation is deceived . . . if it will abandon its safety, dignity, and liberty to the care of a reminiscence of the empire, well, so much the worse for the nation; it will not be ourselves, it will be the nation which has been wanting

in perseverance and in courage." They were satisfied to add that the president was not to be eligible for reëlection. The election for president of the republic was ordered for the 10th of December, 1848. The Moderates selected Cavaignac for their candidate, the Socialists had Ledru-Rollin. But the peasants, having been out of politics, knew but one name, that of Napoleon; they all voted for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who received 5,500,000 votes out of less than 7,000,000. Napoleon had become master of the executive power by a single voting, and he held in his hands the ministry, the officials, and the army.

The legislative assembly, chosen at the time when belief in the republic had ceased, was composed of 500 Monarchists and 250 Republicans (70 only were Moderates, 180 Progressives, elected in the east, who called themselves the party of the Mountain).

The royalist majority, in harmony with the president, who had chosen Orleanist ministers, began to attack the Mountain. It sent an army to Rome to make war on the Republicans and to restore the authority of the pope. It voted for the law of 1850, establishing confessional instruction in primary schools; the law concerning the press, restoring the system of security; the law of May 31, which took away the right of voting from two-fifths of the electors by requiring three years' residence for each elector, to be verified by the tax-lists of the departments. In 1851 the majority, having crushed the Republican party, entered upon a struggle with the president. He no longer desired the parliamentary régime and laboured to gain the absolute control of the government. He had dismissed the Orleanist ministry and had taken his ministers from his personal supporters. He had attached to him-

self many officers, and began at the reviews to permit the cry of "Long live the Emperor!" At a banquet, given June, 1851, he had said: "France will not perish in my hands." His term of office expired in 1852, and he wanted to be reëlected for a new period. The constitution prohibited it; he demanded a revision by the Assembly, but a two-thirds vote was necessary for such a revision, and this number he did not have. The Monarchists were seized with fear, and the questors proposed to give to the President of the Assembly the right to summon armed service to protect the deputies, but the Mountain united with the deputies who were partisans of Napoleon, and the proposition was defeated.

Then the two powers created by the Constitution found themselves involved in a conflict, and the Constitution did not indicate how such a difficulty could be adjusted. The president, who had the executive power, that is, force, employed it by the "coup d'état" of December 2, 1851. He declared the Assembly dissolved, universal suffrage was restored, and an election ordered for approval of a constitution which would give the president absolute power for a term of ten years.

The Constitution had provided for this contingency. It determined that the president would immediately forfeit his position as executive and the power would pass into the hands of the Assembly; it even created a High Court of Justice, which was to assemble at once for his trial. But Napoleon had the army and the police under his control. He ordered the arrest of the leaders of the parties. The deputies who had escaped gathered together to endeavor to carry out the Constitution; the soldiers expelled them. The Constitution was defended only by

the Republicans of the Mountain, who, in several of the departments of the east, took arms and marched against the authorities. This uprising gave the president an opportunity to come forward as the defender of order against the attacks of the Reds. Thirty-two departments were declared to be in a state of siege, special tribunals were created—mixed commissions; the Republicans were condemned to forced labor, to be deported, to confinement in the country, or to exile (the number of condemned is estimated at 10,000, of which 3,400 were transported to Algeria).

The electors being consulted in regard to the Constitution responded "Yes," and Napoleon remained absolute master of France.

The Empire.—The Constitution of 1851 was an imitation of that of the year VIII. It gave all the executive power to the president; he could appoint ministers and functionaries at his own pleasure; he could declare war, make treaties, place the country in a state of siege. He was made responsible, but only to the people, and it was well known that the electors would never dare to vote against the head of the government. The ministers were not responsible to the Chamber and could not even be deputies.

The legislative power was given in appearance to three different bodies: a "Council of State" which prepared the laws; a Legislative Assembly which discussed the bills and voted on them; a Senate, composed of the illustrious men of the country, "guardian of the fundamental compact and of the public liberties." But of these three bodies the Council of State and the Senate were directly appointed by the president. Only the legislative body

was elected by universal suffrage, with individual ballots, at the chief town in the commune. And this Chamber had not the right to introduce any bills, the initiative lay with the president; it could pass upon bills which he laid before it. Besides the Senate could "annul any arbitrary and illegal act." It was a democratic absolutist régime. "The essence of democracy," said Napoleon, "is to become incarnate in a personality."

In 1852 Napoleon was, by a senatorial decree, proclaimed emperor, the power to be hereditary, and he took the name of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. The monarchy was restored, but it was a democratic monarchy, for universal suffrage was never called in question.

The art of the imperial government consisted in preserving absolute power for the emperor and for his ministers, at the same time respecting the forms of the representative régime. The sovereignty of the people was proclaimed, the sovereign people were even called upon to manifest their will by "plébiscite"; but the question was put by the government, and it only remained with the electors to answer yes. There was an elective body, but this Chamber had not the power to elect its president, nor to make its own regulations, nor to add an amendment to laws presented for its vote, nor to decide the budget; for it had to accept or reject "en bloc" the appropriations of a whole ministry. Its debates were published only in the form of an official report, and the session lasted only three months.

All male citizens were voters. But the government controlled them in their choice. It presented in each district an official candidate for whom the prefect and the mayors were to get votes. The opposition candidates

had no chance in the contest. All election meetings were forbidden as a violation of the freedom of the electors. Ballots could not be freely distributed, and after 1858 every candidate was obliged to sign in advance a declaration of fidelity to the emperor. The electoral districts were fixed every five years by a simple order of the government, and were laid out in such a way as to give a majority to the official candidate. Two towns suspected of opposition were cut in two. The election took place in the chief town of the commune; the voting lasted two days; the place was designated by the prefect and in the evening the mayor carried off the ballot-box to his own house. The political press was still in existence, but the government did not permit it to publish freely its opinions. In order to establish a journal a permit was necessary. All journals were under the direct supervision of the prefects.

As soon as an article displeasing to the government appeared the prefect sent a warning to the journal; at a second warning the paper might be suspended; if the article was repeated the paper could be suppressed. In fourteen months (1852–1853) there were ninety-one warnings. The least allusion or criticism of the government was sufficient to draw forth a warning. One journal was warned on account of an article where Napoleon I. was called the missionary of the Revolution, an "article which is an outrage to truth as well as to the hero-legislator to whom grateful France owes her salvation"; another for a "sharp criticism on the sugar-laws"; the "Journal de Loudéac," because "the open discussion in that journal on the subject of manufactured fertilizers was of such a nature as to invalidate the results and value of the ex-

periments made by the administration, and could only cause indecision in the minds of buyers"; two journals of the Loire-Inférieure, for having "gone beyond the limits of good taste."

Individual liberty was proclaimed in the Convention, but the police watched all malcontents, and had them arrested on the least suspicion. The comedian Grassot was kept in prison for having been overheard to say in a café, when he was awaiting his breakfast: "This is like Sebastopol; one cannot take anything." In 1858, after the attack of the Italian Orsini, the government forced the Chamber to vote a law which would confer the right to take into custody without trial whoever had been compromised as a republican between 1848 and 1851. General Espinasse, who had been appointed minister of the interior in order to carry out these measures, ordered each prefect to arrest a certain number of suspected persons in his department (from 4 to 20).

By all these means the government so completely dominated the country that in the Chamber from 1857 to 1863 there were only five deputies in the opposition (the Five). The ministers and prefects governed without any control; the Chamber had been elected under their direction, and the press published only what they allowed to be placed before the public.

The wars undertaken by Napoleon III. changed little by little the home policy. Until 1860 he depended upon the clergy, who induced the peasants to vote for the official candidates; but on setting up the kingdom of Italy, which was opposed to the pope, he alienated the Catholic party, which began to oppose him.

In order to offset the loss of this party the emperor

sought to win over the Liberals. He began by the amnesty of 1859, permitting the return of all the exiles, and from 1860 to 1867 by a series of concessions he increased in a small measure the power of the Chamber, and abated the surveillance of the press.

Then a party was formed in addition to the Republican party, a Liberal opposition, composed of monarchists, partisans of a parliamentary régime. In the Chamber, elected in 1869, there were 116 deputies ready to sign an address demanding a parliamentary system. United to the forty Republican members they would have formed a majority. Napoleon III. yielded. The decree of the Senate (September 6) transformed the imperial régime into a parliamentary system of government. The Chamber had the right to elect its officers and make its own rules, to vote the budget clause by clause. The ministry could be chosen from among the deputies. It was organized like the English system, led by the president of the council, and was responsible to the Chamber.

The Senate ceased to be the guardian of the constitution. It became a Chamber of Peers, charged only with the duty of approving the laws voted by the Chamber. The constituent power was to be directly exercised by the electors. The new constitution was presented to them under the form of a "plébiscite" (May 6, 1870), and approved by 7,500,000 votes.

This régime, which restored the sovereignty of the Chamber, was called the Liberal Empire. It began with some new men. The head of the Council was one of "the Five," Emile Ollivier, but the Republican party did not accept this change. It voted "Non," by the "plébiscite." The deputies called themselves the Ir-

reconcilables, and the party manifested its hostility by riots in the streets of Paris.

The Republic of 1870.—What constituted the strength of the empire was the army. It engaged in a war with Prussia and lost everything; one part of it was shut up in Metz; the remainder, with Napoleon III., was taken prisoner at Sedan (September 2, 1870). The Republicans invaded the Chamber (September 4th), and before it had the time to declare the fall of the empire, the Government of the National Defence was formed, composed of deputies from Paris. A Republic was proclaimed, which was recognized by the whole country without any opposition.

The government organized for defence was besieged in Paris by the Germans. It had to combat a revolutionary socialistic party, which had for symbol a red flag, and which stirred up a riot, October 31. A delegation from the government took charge in the provinces, where the officials of the Empire were replaced by Republicans. Gambetta, the most active member of the delegation, directed, at the same time, the administration and the war.

After the capitulation of Paris an armistice with the Germans was signed, so that the French could elect a National Assembly. The elections were held according to the system of 1848, with the vote by cantons. The peasants suspected that the Republican party, ruled by Gambetta, wanted to continue the war, to the last extremity. They voted for the peace candidates, a coalition of royalists and moderate republicans. The National Assembly was royalist. It appointed Thiers head of the executive power (avoiding with intention the name Republic).

The Socialists in Paris refused to recognize the authority of the Assembly. They revolted and set up a new form of government, the Commune. Like the other types originating in the Socialist party, it was a revolutionary government, hostile to the bourgeoisie and intending to reform property rights in favor of the workingmen. Until this time the Socialists had always demanded a very strong central power which could force reform on the whole country. In 1871, under the influence of foreign revolutionists (and the disciples of Proudhon), the complete sovereignty of the communes was proclaimed. Each commune regulated its own government; they were associated in order to form a federation (hence the name "fédérés"). The programme of April 19, 1871, declared: "The autonomy of the commune shall only have for a limit the law of autonomy uniform in every commune adherent to the contract whose association is to secure French unity." The Commune of Paris was organized on this basis, and was to be governed by a council whose members were elective. An attempt was made to establish the Commune of Lyons, Marseilles, and of several large cities.

But for the first time the provinces were not willing to accept a revolution which took place in Paris. The government and the Assembly fled to Versailles, and formed an army, which laid siege to Paris, then defended by the national guards, and took it by force. The revolutionists were shot or deported. The party of the red flag was no longer in a condition to attempt a revolution. The national guard was definitively suppressed.

Then a struggle took place in the Assembly between the monarchical majority and the republican minority.

The majority declared that the Assembly had been elected in order to draft a constitution, and notwithstanding the petitions for dissolution, it retained control until 1876.

The Constitution of 1875.—The monarchical majority was a coalition of three parties—Legitimists (partisans of the Count de Chambord, Henry V., grandson of Charles X.); Orleanist (partisans of the Count de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe); Bonapartist (partisans of the son of Napoleon III.). The Republican minority was also divided into three groups—Left Centre, Republicans, and Radicals.

Leadership in the government depended on the grouping of the parties. They hesitated for two years. The Right Centre (Orleanist) at first decided to unite with the Left Centre (Republican) in order to support the Thiers government. This was the policy of the union of the Centres. Then the Right Centre grew afraid of the Radical party. It found that the government was not combatting, with sufficient energy, the Radical agitation, and did not decidedly support the clergy; it joined with the other monarchical parties and voted against the ministry. Thiers would not remain at the head of the state and resigned May 24, 1873. The coalition of the groups on the Right took possession of the power and retained it until 1876.

The Assembly had to make a constitution. The groups of the Right tried to restore the monarchy. The Count of Paris recognized the Count of Chambord as the legitimate king of France; this was called the fusion of the Legitimist and Orleanist parties. But the Count of Chambord, to whom the majority offered the crown, made a solution of the question impossible by demand-

ing that the white flag should be restored (October 27, 1873).

In default of a monarchy, the majority created the office of executive for seven years (the Septennate), and then began to draw up a constitution. It did not want to accept a republican form of government, but after a long discussion a small group retired from the Right Centre and united with the Republicans, passing, by a majority of one, an amendment wherein was found the expression, "President of the Republic." Thus the constitution established indirectly the form of government for France.

The organization of 1875 has been adopted from parliamentary monarchies. The President of the Republic is chosen for seven years by the Assembly, and his rôle is that of a constitutional king; he chooses his ministers. The ministry deliberates in Council, and as a whole is responsible to the Assembly, that is to say, the ministers must all retire together if any of the ministers are placed in the minority. The president may dissolve the Chamber, but only with the consent of the Senate.

The power belongs to the two Assemblies, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, whose members receive twenty-five francs a day. The Chamber is elected by universal suffrage by district[1] ticket (from 1885 to 1889 by general ballot). It makes the laws and votes the budget. The Senate, made up of 300 members, is divided into two parts; 225 members are chosen by the electoral colleges (delegates from municipal councils, deputies, councils from arrondissements gathered at the chief town of the department), seventy-five members are elected

[1] The system introduced in 1885 was like that by which we vote for presidential electors in the states—a general ticket. In 1889 voting by districts was again established.

by the Assembly. The seventy-five are elected for life, the 225 are elected for nine years. The Senate has exactly the same powers as the Chamber, voting the budget and the laws, but the budget must be voted in the first instance by the Chamber, and the vote of the Senate does not affect the existence of the ministry. The result is that, as a matter of fact, the Chamber is supreme, and upon the action there the ministers depend. Every deputy and every senator has the right to propose amendments, to introduce bills, or to interpellate the government.

In case of conflict between the Chamber and the president the Senate serves as arbitrator, for it has the right to dissolve the Chamber on the demand of the president.

The seat of parliament and of government had been fixed at Versailles to avoid any conflict with the people of Paris. The Republican party brought it back to Paris.

The constitution cannot be changed save by agreement of the two Chambers. Each must separately decide that "there is a reason for the revision of the constitutional law." The revision is made by the Congress (union of the senators and deputies).

The régime created by the constitution of 1875 has been an adaptation of the parliamentary system of liberal monarchies to a democratic country.

As in the parliamentary régime, there are three powers. The chief executive takes the place of the king, having only the power to choose his ministers and to dissolve the Parliament. The sovereign power belongs to the Assembly (composed of the two Chambers), which takes the initiative in making the laws and in voting the budget. The Chamber, directly elected by the people, guides the policy, and to that body the ministry conjointly is held responsible.

But it was necessary to introduce some democratic innovations.

1. The chief executive not being hereditary, the Parliament elects the president for a term of seven years.

2. No one was willing to give the president alone the right to dissolve the Chamber, so he can only do it with the consent of the Senate.

3. The Chamber is elected not by privileged electors, but by all the citizens.

4. In order that the office of representative may be accessible to all, the members receive pay for their services.

5. As an upper aristocratic chamber could not be created, the Senate has been, like the Chamber, an elective assembly; the deputies represented the people, the senators have represented the territories. "The Senate," said Gambetta, "is the Grand Council of the communes of France."

6. The Senate has been assigned a more active rôle than the House of Lords; it not only must supervise the Chamber, but duplicate it. It has the right to vote the budget and to vote for dissolution, which the Upper House usually does not have. The forms are those of the parliamentary monarchy, concealing the real government of the country by a democratic assembly.

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN EUROPE SINCE 1848.

Nationalities.—The principle of the sovereignty of the nation has given rise to the new theory of nationality by the side of the former constitutional theory. Since the nation alone has the right to govern itself, it may demand that it should not be governed by foreigners, or be incorporated in any foreign nation; it may also demand that there should be no parcelling out among other governments. Each nation should form an independent state; all the parties of the same nation ought to be united in a single state. This is the declaration of the principle of nationality. No regard was paid to this idea until the nineteenth century. The states had been formed, by the accident of heritage, or of conquest, without any scruple in the matter of gathering together peoples of different tongues, races, or customs, or even to breaking in pieces the various races. This had been the procedure in 1814, at the Congress of Vienna. When they determined to make exchanges between the states, only the richness of the soil and the number of inhabitants were taken into account. There were in Europe, therefore, a number of states, formed from several nations, foreign and even hostile to each other (the Turkish empire, Prussia, Austria), and some nations were divided among several states (Germany, Italy).

A short time after the Restoration the patriots began

to stir up an agitation against the governments. Wherever a small nation had been incorporated into a large foreign state (in the Turkish empire, or the empire of Austria) the patriots sought to detach the nation from the foreign state that governed it; and, on the other hand, when a large nation had been parceled out among petty states (in Germany and in Italy), the patriots laboured to destroy the petty states in order to reunite them into a single nation. The movement went on then in an inverse sense, sometimes toward separation, sometimes toward concentration. Some demanded enfranchisement, others unity.

This agitation went on in almost every country. In order to be freed from the Turkish empire, the Greeks, Servians, Roumanians, Bulgarians; to be freed from Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, Croatia; in order to free Ireland from England, Belgium from Holland, Poland from Russia. The movement for unity was confined to Germany and Italy. Only France and Spain, where unity had already been established, escaped from this agitation.

The principle common to all national parties is that the state should be one with the nation. But what is meant by a nation? There had been in Europe two methods of regarding a nation. One regarded the nation as the ensemble of men who wanted to make part of one and the same state. It was, therefore, the inhabitants of a country who were to decide to what nation they would belong. The nation existed only by the will of its members. The other method declared that the nation was formed according to race, and independent of the will of man; people of the same race ought to be united, even

when they did not desire such a union. The theory of voluntary nationality was especially French. France applied it in 1861; before annexing Savoy and the county of Nice, it had the inhabitants vote on the subject of annexation. The theory of the race nationality has found its supporters chiefly in Germany and in Russia. Those who wanted to gather into one state all people of the Germanic races are called Pan-Germanists; those who wanted to unite all the Slav peoples are called Pan-Slavists. The German government has applied this theory in annexing the people of Alsace, in spite of their objections, because they are of Germanic blood. During the Bulgarian War, in 1877, the Russians hung as traitors the Poles who had taken service under Turkey, because, being Slavs, they had fought against other Slavs. The theory of race seems to be abandoned to-day. Russia herself has aided the petty Slav nations of the Balkans to constitute themselves into states.

Almost everywhere the National party has united with the Liberal to oppose the government policy, so that the agitation has been at the same time national and constitutional. It has lasted for half a century, and has taken on many forms. Sometimes the agitators have rebelled (in Greece, Lombardy, Belgium, Poland, Ireland, Hungary), sometimes they have formed the opposition in the Chambers (in Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Ireland), sometimes they have made a sufficiently strong appeal to the state. to bring about unity.

Almost everywhere the National party has been finally victorious; in Servia, Greece, and Belgium, through insurrection; in Roumania, Bulgaria and Lombardy with foreign support; in Italy and in Germany by forming a

group about the kingdom of Sardinia and about the kingdom of Prussia. Poland and Ireland are the only countries that have not succeeded in gaining their freedom, and where the agitation still continues.

Formation of Italian Unity.—Italy, in 1815, had relapsed into the condition where she happened to be before the Revolution and from which France had relieved her. The country was cut up into seven small states: in the north the kingdom of Sardinia, and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; in the centre the Duchies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Papal States; in the south the kingdom of Naples. Even the name Italy, given by Napoleon to the great kingdom in the north, had disappeared. Metternich said, when some one spoke to him of Italy: "That is a geographical term." All the petty Italian states were absolute monarchies, governed despotically by the ministers of the sovereigns and subject to a vexatious police supervision. The pope had reëstablished the Inquisition, he prohibited all secret societies, forbade the introduction and reading of foreign books, and the lighting of the streets of Rome was suppressed as a French institution. The King of Sardinia had reestablished the censorship, which did not permit even the writing of the word constitution; he removed the functionaries who had been excommunicated by the church, and ordered surveillance of the universities. He had ordered the destruction of the botanical garden at Turin, which had been the work of the French. The King of Naples suppressed the former constitution of Sicily, and promised Austria that he would not establish any institution opposed to those of Lombardy; that is to say liberal. Italy was living, then, under an absolute régime, and the despot-

ism did not even procure for her tranquillity. The governments in the south and in the centre were not capable of suppressing brigandage. The kingdom of Naples and the States of the Church were a prey to marauders. In 1872 there were 30,000 brigands in Naples, and in the States of the Church a price was set on fifty-seven heads.

In the north of Italy the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, formed by the Milanais, and the former territory of Venice, belonged to Austria, which sent Austrian officials and soldiers to govern the country. Austria controlled indirectly the three Duchies whose sovereigns were Austrian princes; she protected the pope and the king of Naples against the revolts of their subjects; she had been on the point of forming all the Italian princes into a confederation which she would have controlled. Italy was a dependency of the foreigner.

This condition lasted until 1848. In imitation of the neighboring peoples there were two attempts at revolt. In 1820 the officers, following the example of the Spaniards, wanted to force the kings of Naples and of Sardinia to grant a constitution. (The king of Naples even accepted the Spanish constitution.) In 1831 the Liberals, following the example of the French, forced the pope and the three dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena to establish a Liberal régime. But the movement succeeded only in a part of Italy, and each time the Austrian armies came and restored absolute government.

Mazzini, an Italian revolutionist, who had taken refuge in France, organized a secret association with the purpose of overthrowing all of the monarchies in Europe, and of making independent republics out of every nation, which should be united with each other in a fraternity. Its

device was: "Liberty, Equality, Humanity; one God, one sovereign, the law of God." The society was called Young Europe; each nation formed one section: Young Italy, Young Poland, Young Germany, etc. Young Italy, which had been founded in 1831, had supporters especially in Genoa and in Rome. It became famous through the plots and riots of 1844 and 1845. Its purpose was to unite all of Italy into one republic.

Towards 1843 another movement began, this time in the world of letters. The Italians called it the resurrection (Risorgimento). The idea was to lift Italy from her misery and disorder by giving her a Liberal government, and to deliver her from foreign domination by getting rid of the Austrians. The representatives of this movement, Balbo, Massimo d'Azeglio, Durando, Gioberti, did not dream of removing the Italian princes; on the contrary, it was to them that they turned, begging them to grant a constitution to their people, and to be united among themselves in order to form an Italian nation. Italy would have taken the form of a federation among the monarchical constitutional states.

Three sovereigns were persuaded to join in the Liberal and National movements: the King of Sardinia, the Duke of Tuscany, and Pope Pius IX., who was elected in 1846. In 1847 the duke and the pope granted to their subjects a milder censorship of the press, a national guard was organized, and a Council of State, charged with the reformation of the laws, was created. The three sovereigns concluded a treaty in order to establish a customs union between their states. Austria responded by an alliance with the dukes of Parma and Modena.

The Italian states had been grouped in two parties, the

Austrian and the National. The princes in the National party did not conceal their desire for the expulsion of the foreigners. The Italians hoped at this time that they would be strong enough to drive away the Austrians without the aid of any other state. The King of Sardinia, Charles Albert, while talking with d'Azeglio, who asked him how the deliverance of Italy could possibly be accomplished, replied: "Italia farà da se" (Italy will do it alone).

In 1848 the Liberal régime was at once established in all the states: in the kingdom of Naples by a revolt of the Liberals at Palermo in the month of January; in Sardinia in February; in Tuscany and in the States of the Church the revolt was in March and by the will of the princes. The sovereign in each of the four states granted a constitution to the people, and all four formed an alliance for defence of their independence from foreign dominion. The Austrian government was at that time disorganized by the revolution of 1848, and was occupied with a general uprising of all its different nationalities.

The moment seemed well chosen. Count Cavour wrote in the Turin *Journal:* "The hour has struck for the kingdom of Savoy, the hour of bold resolutions upon which depends the existence of the kingdom. We, people of cool reason, accustomed to listen to the commands of reason rather than to the emotions of the heart, declare openly for the nation, the government, and the king; war, and immediate war."

This was a national war against Austria. The Italians of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom revolted. The Sardinian troops occupied all of Lombardy abandoned by the Austrians. The inhabitants got up a "plébiscite,"

and through 560,000 votes demanded that Lombardy be annexed to Sardinia. At Venice the insurgents proclaimed a republic; then an assembly composed of 127 members demanded annexation.

The Austrian army had been concentrated in the heart of the kingdom in the "Quadrilateral" formed by the four fortresses, Mantua, Legnago, Pesciera, Verona, separating Venice from the rest of Italy. But the Italian armies were not able to resist the Austrian forces, and they did not act in concert. United in the one desire of driving away the foreigner they were divided in regard to the manner of the reorganization of Italy. The Royalist-Liberals wanted a federation of the princes; the Republicans of the Mazzini faction demanded a national assembly chosen by all the Italians for the purpose of establishing the Republic of Italy. The royalist federated party ruled in the North where it was sustained by the Sardinian army. The Republican party of unity prevailed in the centre. The Constituent Assembly elected by the subjects of the pope proclaimed a Roman republic (February, 1849), and gave the government into the hands of triumvirs (Mazzini and Garibaldi); the Duchy of Tuscany was organized into a republic. In the south the Absolutists regained the ascendency; the King of Naples abolished the constitution, and conquered Sicily by force; he bombarded Messina, which act gave him the name of "Il Re Bomba," King Bomba, and he ordered the Liberals sent to the galleys.

In the north and in the centre, foreign armies intervened to combat the advance of the Nationals and Liberals. The pope, frightened by the revolution, had become an Absolutist, and had called upon all the Catholic states of

Europe to aid him in the conflict with the Republicans. The King of Naples, Spain, France, and Austria sent their armies to Italy. The French army laid siege to Rome, the Austrians occupied the Romagna. The old régime was restored in the Papal States.

The King of Sardinia, remaining alone in the presence of the Austrians, was driven from Lombardy (1848). He tried to retake it in 1849 while Austria was occupied in her struggle with Hungary. His army was dispersed at Novara and he abdicated. Venice, although isolated, defended herself until August, 1849. The Austrians and the victorious Absolutists restored the régime of 1815. The Liberals were disheartened. D'Azeglio wrote: "At the present writing all is over. After having labored all one's life with one single idea in view, without even the hope of an opportunity to see it realized, to see that opportunity come, surpassing all reasonable foresight, then to feel that the whole edifice is crumbling to pieces in one day! After such rebuffs, one only seems to live, to exist. I see nothing to do at present. We must roll to the bottom of the abyss to see where we shall stop and recognize our situation. Then we shall begin once more. But I shall never gather in the fruit of this conflict."

However, there remained one result of this movement of 1848. The Statute given in February, 1848, by Charles Albert to the kingdom of Sardinia, which established a parliamentary régime similar to that of Belgium, a responsible ministry, a senate, a chamber chosen by election, and charged with voting the laws and the budget, the liberty of the press. Austria offered better conditions for peace to the new king, Victor Emmanuel, if he would abolish the Statute. He refused, and the kingdom of

Sardinia remained the only Liberal constitutional state in all Italy. It was also the only really Italian state. The king preserved the tricolor, green, white, and red, which had been the flag of the National party of 1848. He chose for his prime minister one of the leaders of the National movement, d'Azeglio, and welcomed the Italian refugee patriots. There was henceforth in Italy a Liberal National state around which the Liberal patriots could gather.

The failure of the revolution of 1848 served also as an experience for the participants. The Italians had brought about this failure because they could not agree and wanted to act alone. They found that they must organize for common action and must procure aid for themselves from a foreign power. This was the work of Count Cavour, premier of Sardinia in 1850. Cavour was a Piedmont noble who could hardly be called an Italian. He spoke only French and the Piedmont dialect. After having served as officer in the artillery he retired to his estates, whose value he had greatly increased; then he travelled in France, where he was seized with a great admiration for a liberal monarchy, and in England, where he became an advocate of free trade. In 1848 he was supposed to be a Conservative because of his scorn for a republic. But in 1850 he united the Left Centre, and overthrew the ministry of d'Azeglio. The new ministry (Left Centre), whose first chief was Ratazzi, instituted a number of reforms; it abolished the church tribunals in 1850, secularized 300 convents in 1885. (In this small kingdom there were 41 bishops, 1,417 canons, 14,000 monks.) It also established a bank, made commercial treaties, and reorganized the army on the Prussian model. The Italian

patriots gradually rallied to the standard of Sardinia. The former dictator of the Republic of Venice, Manin, having taken refuge in Paris, wrote in 1854, to an English statesman, who had urged him to be resigned to the domination of Austria, which had grown less oppressive: "Resignation is cowardice for a people who are under foreign domination. We do not demand a milder government from Austria, but we do demand that she leave our borders." He saw that a republic was impossible, the King of Sardinia would never consent to it; no other solution remained. They must unite under one king. "Princes of the House of Savoy, make Italy, and I am with you. 'Independence and Unity,' that is our motto." The Republican party of Mazzini had grown weak and a National party was formed, which desired unity under the King of Sardinia. This party founded the National Union, a society which found adherents throughout Italy. The secretary, a Sicilian, La Farina, in the early morning had secret interviews with Cavour. "Do what you can," said Cavour to him, "but before the world I shall deny you, as Peter denied his Lord."

In order to carry on a war with Austria it was necessary to have a powerful ally. Cavour said: "Piedmont has often had to congratulate itself on its alliances, never on its neutrality." He knew that he could not count on England. He tried to win over Napoleon III. In order to please him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the merchants of Genoa, he involved the kingdom of Sardinia in the war against Russia, and sent 15,000 men to the Crimea. He profited by the result, so that, at the Congress of Paris, which reëstablished peace in 1856, Sardinia was able to send an envoy, who was the peer of the

representatives of the great powers, and who presented, in the name of the Italians, their griefs against the government of Austria. In order to keep the support of Napoleon, Cavour, after the attack of Orsini (1858), consented, in opposition to the Liberals, to prosecute the journals which showed hostility to the emperor.

Finally, in 1858, Napoleon was frightened by Orsini, who had reproached him for not keeping his promises (Napoleon had been in 1831 a member of a secret Italian society which had been founded for the purpose of freeing Italy). He had Cavour come to Plombières, and an alliance was formed. Napoleon promised to Sardinia a free Italy as far as the Adriatic. He received in exchange Savoy and the County of Nice. The unification of Italy was at once begun, and was completed in eleven years, 1859–1870. In 1859 Napoleon declared war against Austria and drove the Austrian army from Lombardy; but instead of following it to the Adriatic, according to the agreement, he stopped before the "Quadrilateral." His army was disorganized, and he feared an attack from Prussia. He was content, therefore, to receive from Austria, Lombardy, which he turned over to Sardinia; Austria kept Venetia. Cavour was desperate, he wanted to continue the war, but Piedmont could not fight alone, and he approved of the peace. During the war the partisans of unity, led by the members of the National Union, had stirred up the people in the duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, and in the Romagna, one of the papal provinces, and had organized in each one a provisional government which exercised a dictatorship in the name of the Sardinian government. The governments of the Romagna, of Parma, and of Modena, had

grouped the three countries under the name of the royal provinces of Emilia, the Sardinian constitution was adopted, the customs on the frontier of the kingdom of Sardinia were abolished, and the postal service was again placed in the hands of the Sardinian employees. Then all four became allies and demanded annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon would have preferred an independent Duchy of Tuscany. In order to influence him an appeal was made to the people. They answered "Yes," Tuscany by 366,000 votes against 15,000, Emilia by 426,000 against 756. He demanded Savoy and Nice. Cavour decided to cede them if the people were willing. Savoy agreed by a vote of 130,000 against 2,000, Nice by 25,000 against 160. In 1860 a parliament of the deputies from the augmented kingdom of Sardinia was convoked. It had as yet received no name, so it was called the National Parliament.

The King of Naples and the pope were hostile to the National movement, and they had only the ill-organized Swiss Guards as a defence. (The Swiss Government, humiliated at seeing its citizens in the pay of the foreigner, had taken from them the national flag.) But the Sardinian government did not venture to make an attack. The Italian Republicans were allowed to begin the war. Sardinia affected to disown them. Garibaldi, with 1,067 volunteers, embarked for Sicily. The Governor of Genoa was ordered not to allow them to depart. Cavour wrote to the Sardinian admiral, "Monsieur le Comte, try to place yourself between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers; I hope you understand me." "Monsieur le Comte," replied the admiral, "I believe I do understand you. In case of need, send me captive to the fortress at

Fenestrella." The volunteers conquered Sicily without resistance and entered the kingdom of Naples. The king fled. The naval officers in favor of union purposely forgot to have their rudders in order and to have water in the boilers. The kingdom of Naples was in the power of Garibaldi, who had been proclaimed dictator.

The Papal States were defended by a Catholic army of 20,000 volunteers coming from every country, chiefly Frenchmen. The Garibaldi republicans came up from the south to conquer them. The Sardinian government took the lead, dispersed the Catholic army, and occupied two provinces, the Marches and Umbria. Only the province of Rome was left to the pope. Then all the countries, whether conquered by Garibaldi or by the Sardinian army, were consulted under the form of a "plébiscite," and all demanded annexation, Sicily by 430,000 votes against 700, the kingdom of Naples by 1,301,000 against 10,000, the Marches and Umbria by 230,000 against 1,600. In 1861 the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed "King of Italy by the grace of God and by the will of the people." Then the Parliament declared that Rome should be the capital of Italy.

The new kingdom was burdened by a larger army, which caused a deficit in the budget, and the Italians eagerly desired to complete the unification. But they could expect nothing more from France. Napoleon did not want to take away from the pope the last vestige of his temporal power. He maintained in Rome a French garrison, which he did not withdraw (1864) until Italy had promised not to attack the pope. Cavour turned to Prussia, which offered to unite with him in opposition to

Austria. After two fruitless attempts (1862 and 1865) an alliance was arranged for three months only (1866). This gave sufficient time to force Austria (which had been invaded by the Prussian army) to sue for peace. Although she had defeated the Italians, she ceded Venetia to Napoleon, who gave it to the kingdom of Italy.

There still remained the patrimony of St. Peter. The Garibaldians tried to conquer it. They attacked the army of the pope, but France sent troops, which drove off the Garibaldians (1867) and a French garrison was left at Rome. The Italian government no longer dared to proceed against it.

It was Prussia which restored to her freedom to act. After the first defeats in the war of 1870 France withdrew its troops from Rome. The Italians occupied the city without meeting any opposition, after having, on the demand of the pope, made a breach in the wall, which signified that they had entered by force. The inhabitants were consulted and voted for annexation by 130,000 against 1,500. Rome became the capital of Italy. The pope remained in his palace of the Vatican, with all the honors due to a sovereign, a body-guard, the right to receive ambassadors, and with an income of 3,000,000 lire, which he refused to receive.

The union of Italy, which the Republicans and Federalists, dependent on their own strength alone, had been unable to obtain because of the opposition of Austria, was established in eleven years through the influence of Sardinia, and by the aid first of France and then of Prussia.

Since 1870 a party has been formed which demands that all countries speaking Italian should belong to the

Italian kingdom—Italian Tyrol and Trieste, which belong to Austria; Corsica and Nice, which belong to France; Malta, which is a dependency of England; and Ticino, a Swiss canton. The party calls these countries unredeemed Italy, hence its name, the Irredentist party.

Formation of German Unity.—Germany in 1848 was, like Italy, a mere geographic term. It was cut up still more than was Italy, divided into thirty-six sovereign states bound to one another in a sort of confederation. The only common power was the Diet at Frankfort, a permanent conference of diplomats appointed each to act in the common interests, taking his instruction from his own government and demanding special orders for each affair. In all important questions, and even in lesser affairs, no decision could be taken save by unanimous consent of the whole body, as it was necessary to await advices from all the home governments. Each state had the means of delaying a settlement by withholding its response. The governments of the small kingdoms, jealous of their sovereignty, sought to paralyze the action of the Diet. The slowness of the Assembly soon became proverbial. The supporters of the ancient tribunal of the empire, who since 1816 had demanded payment of their salaries which were in arrears, were paid in 1831. The debts of the wars from 1792 to 1801 were settled in 1843, those of the Thirty Years' War were not paid until 1850. The regulations for the federal army were not drawn up until 1821, and the army corps of the smaller states were not organized until 1830–1836. The federal fortresses decided on in 1815 were not constructed in 1825. The Confederation could not serve even as a frame-

work for the German nation. It had been formed, not by the different Germanic peoples, but by the sovereigns. Two princes who were not even German were members of it—the King of Denmark as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, the King of Holland as Duke of Luxemburg. Two others had a part of their possessions outside of the Confederation—the King of Prussia the province of Posen, the Emperor of Austria the kingdoms of Hungary, Galicia, Dalmatia, and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom—without these foreign countries being distinctly separated from the Confederation by a different government and a rigorously established frontier.

The wars with Napoleon had given rise to a party of German patriots who desired to see all countries speaking the German idiom united in one nation, in order to defend German territory and German interests from the encroachments of the neighboring states, especially from those of France. This party, recruited chiefly from the class of writers and students, dreamed of the restoration of the empire and had taken for an emblem the red, black, and gold flag. This party was opposed by all the governments as being revolutionary, and was soon swallowed up by the Liberal party. Until 1840 intelligent Germans were more occupied in trying to secure a liberal government than to establish national unity.

Some individual writers pointed out a means of restoring the German nation. The Confederation, they said, was only a federation of states (Staatenbund) of which each one remained sovereign. It must give place to a Federal state (Bundesstaat), when all would be subject to a central sovereign power. The desire for German

unity spread between 1840–1848[1] in university circles, the Germanist Congress of 1846 was a real national congress of German savants. The revolution of 1848 dismayed the governments. In March there were revolts in Vienna and in Berlin. The sovereigns, frightened, granted liberal constitutions and convoked constituent assemblies. The Liberals in Southern Germany profited by it. An assembly of fifty-one notables of the party (held at Heidelberg) summoned a preliminary parliament to meet at Frankfort. It was composed of deputies who had sat in any assembly of one of the German states (the majority were Germans from the south). This assembly, in its turn, decided to form a regular parliament representing all the German states, and which was to serve as a constituent assembly, the deputies to be chosen by universal suffrage, one to each 50,000 inhabitants; all the provinces of Prussia and Bohemia to be represented. The Diet accepted these propositions and the government ordered the election.

The Parliament at Frankfort (May, 1848), led by authors and professors, wanted to make a liberal and federal state of Germany; its emblem was the flag of the liberals, black, red, and gold; but it had only a moral authority in the presence of the old governments, which maintained their authority, and it could not execute its projects. It resembled a conference of savants, gathered together to debate upon the best constitution which should be given to Germany. It created provisionally the office of Imperial Administrator, and elected an Archduke of

[1] It was in 1840, when the Thiers ministry was contemplating a war with Europe, that two patriotic songs were composed, "The German Rhine," and the "Guard on the Shore of the Rhine" ("Wacht am Rhein").

Austria, who formed an imperial ministry. Then began the vote on the constitution.

They easily agreed on the principles. The fundamental rights of the citizens were regulated on the model of the liberal régimes; equality before the law was proclaimed; all liberties, independence of jurisdiction, the right of the people to be represented by deputies. They also agreed to establish a federal state. There were two questions on which they could not agree.

1. What countries should form the German empire? The frontier of the German countries had always been doubtful. It had been admitted since 1815 that Germany extended as far as the German[1] language was spoken. But the two principal states had subjects who did not speak German: one of the provinces of Prussia, Posen[2], was Polish, and three-fourths of Austria were Slavs, Magyars, or Roumanians. What was to be done with all these foreign districts? Parliament had decided that they could not belong to the empire, that they should be united only through a personal union with the German provinces under the same sovereign. The Austrian government refused. It wanted to come with all its provinces into the new empire.

2. What sovereign should be entrusted with the control of the empire? The two great powers, Austria and Prussia, had been able to remain in competition in the Confederation, but in a federal state one must have precedence. Should it be Austria or Prussia? This question was closely connected with the first. If Austria

[1] This was the idea expressed in the celebrated patriotic song: "What Is the German Fatherland?"

[2] The province of Posen was at that time outside of the boundaries of the empire, but it had been Germanized.

was to be set aside, the head of the empire would be the King of Prussia.

The Parliament was divided into two parties. One party wanted to preserve the union, with 8,000,000 Germans from Austria and form a federation sufficiently large to admit the whole Austrian empire. Austrian influence would have dominated in this case. (This was called the Greater Germany party.) The other renounced their German brothers in Austria for the purpose of creating with other states a smaller but better organized empire under the direction of the King of Prussia (this was the Little Germany party).

The Prussian party prevailed by 261 votes against 224, and the Parliament decided to create the office of hereditary emperor. The King of Prussia was elected. But he would not accept a liberal constitution, and he refused the crown offered by the people, "a crown of clay and wood." "If any one is to award the crown of the German nation," said he, "it is myself and my peers who shall give it." He refused. The Republicans revolted, the princes withdrew their subjects from the Parliament, and only 105 Republican deputies remained. They took refuge at Stuttgart, and became the last defenders of the constitution, while the Prussian soldiers proceeded to crush out the Republicans in Saxony, in Baden, and in all Germany. Thus the attempt to create German unity by means of a federal and liberal state came to naught. Certain governments caused the failure by refusing to recognize the constitution, and by treating as rebels their subjects, who had tried by force to give life to the movement.

The King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, each labored with the petty sovereigns for the purpose of

reconstituting the Confederation which had been broken in 1848, and each wanted to take control of it. The King of Prussia created a union with a military chief, a council of representatives from all the governments, and an elective Parliament; seventeen of the small northern states accepted the terms. The Parliament met at Erfurt (March, 1850), and a government was organized at Berlin under the direction of the King of Prussia. But the Emperor of Austria, delivered from the war with Hungary, united with the princes of the small kingdoms of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, who did not want to obey the King of Prussia. But as they would not accept his plan, he agreed with them to a reconstitution of the Confederation as it was before 1848.

The King of Prussia, left alone, was afraid of war, yielded, and joined the Confederation in 1850. It was understood then that Germany could not form a single nation as it would have two heads. This partition was maintained through the rivalry between Prussia and Austria. They could not go on indefinitely, living in this state of semi-hostility, but it was necessary to wait until one had conquered the other, in order to be able to settle the fate of Germany. In this duel between Prussia and Austria, it was believed that Austria would finally win. It had twice the territory and a population double that of Prussia, 36,000,000 against 18,000,000, and had besides the advantage of being considered by the German princes as the natural head of the Confederation (the Austrian emperor was the heir of the ancient Germanic emperors). The King of Prussia, who was considered much less powerful by the rest of Europe, had, however, two advantages. He could enter much farther into the affairs of Ger-

many, for all his states and one province were German. He drew more resources from his subjects, because all the various forces in the country had been organized for the contest.

This organization dated from the rule of Napoleon. The kingdom had been reduced to four provinces and 5,000,000 souls. The king, who had chosen for his ministers the German patriots, Stein of Nassau, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst of Hanover, allowed himself to be persuaded to enter upon a reform of the remnant of his kingdom in order to render it capable of maintaining itself in the rank of the great powers. The government demanded new sacrifices from its subjects, and these sacrifices were made possible by a reform in the institutions.[1] A more centralized government was created. Impediments to agriculture and commerce were removed. New fiscal sources were created, taxes levied after the system used in France (license and personal tax), tax on luxuries. An armed police service was created—this was the work of Hardenberg—and a military system was set up—this was the work of Scharnhorst.

The principle was thus stated: "Every inhabitant is the born defender of the kingdom." Scharnhorst restored an old custom of the Middle Ages and also the old name Landwehr (Defence of the Country). All Prussians owed military service; but as Napoleon had forbidden the king to keep more than 43,000 men, the duration of service was reduced to three years. The men were sent

[1] In France the reforms of 1789 had been made to ameliorate the condition of the people, whom the government recognized as the true sovereign; therefore, they were preceded by a declaration of rights. In Prussia, on the contrary, the sovereign was the king. He effected the reforms by a royal ordinance, in order to increase the strength of the state; therefore, he only spoke of the duties of his subjects.

home, but the right was reserved of calling them out in time of war. The officers alone remained with the army. In this way the army ceased to be a corporation of professional soldiers, separated from the rest of the people. It became a military school for all the young men, and in time of war a centre whither the nation repaired to take its stand. Thus the division into two parts was made, the army in active service and the reserve. Scharnhorst had wanted to form in addition a landwehr from the men able for duty, and who were not in the army. It was not organized until 1813. The uniform was very simple, the litevka (a sort of blue blouse) and a cap. This system, created only for the war, was preserved after the establishment of peace. Prussia kept a permanent army of only 115,000 men, but thanks to the three years' service, the reserve, and the landwehr, she could triple this number in time of war. The king refused to permit the use of substitutes for young men of wealth. Those who had finished their studies were required to serve only one year, and could lodge at home; but the principle that every man in the kingdom must do military service was insisted upon. The landwehr was so organized that it resembled still more the army, and had to be drilled at the manœuvres so that it could enter at once on a campaign if need be. Of all the European states Prussia was the one which made ready, in proportion, the greatest number of soldiers. It was also necessary to reorganize the finances. The state in 1815 was ruined by war, failure in crops had produced misery and want, the products of the English manufactories, accumulated during the Continental blockade, were now so abundant and were sold so cheap in Germany that the Prussian

manufacturers could not enter into competition with the foreigners. Prussia, like all the other states, had at that time a complicated system of customs tariff. There were sixty-seven different tariff areas in the various provinces, and the Prussian territory was so irregular in boundary lines that it was impossible to surround it by a cordon of custom-houses.

The Prussian government boldly resolved to establish a scale of moderate and simple duties: ten per cent. on manufactured products; twenty per cent. on colonial products, to be estimated by weight. This was the most liberal commercial policy that had ever been established in any European state. It gave renewed life to trade in Prussia, and put her in a position to control the commerce of all the German states.

The petty princes, whose territories were encroached upon by the circle of custom-houses, protested. The Prussian government offered to share with them the revenue collected on the basis of population. Prussia kept control, fixed the tariff, made the commercial treaties and appointed the officers. The first treaty of this kind (1817) served as a model for all the other treaties with the other states whose territories were inclosed in Prussia. In 1828 a more important state, not within Prussian bounds, Hesse-Darmstadt, asked for a treaty. The agreement was made, and in addition to the sharing of the revenue Hesse-Darmstadt had the right to appoint the customs officers on her frontier, but Prussia fixed the tariff. This continued to be the model for the treaties with all states not within Prussian territorial lines. Thus began slowly and through difficulty the Customs Union (Zollverein) of Germany.

Two other unions had been formed, one between the southern states and one between those in the centre. A conflict arose between these three divisions. The Prussian union, being the stronger, drew toward it the others. In 1836 all the German states had joined the union except Hanover, its adjacent provinces, and Austria. In 1841 the Zollverein treaty was renewed for twelve years. At the renewal in 1852 many of the states sought to have Austria admitted into the union. But Prussia would not consent, as it would have brought in the Slav and Magyar countries. She turned to Hanover and the neighboring provinces, which remained outside because they had found the tariffs too high, and had them join the union. All the other states gave up coming to an agreement with Austria because of her paper currency. They resumed their relations with the Zollverein and the union continued until 1865, including all of Germany except Austria. Prussia had taken in charge the direction of German commercial interests.

From 1850 to 1860 the political life in Germany showed little vigor. The governments, frightened by the movement of 1848, prevented any national or liberal demonstrations. In 1860, after the defeat of Austria, it was the general opinion that the Confederation was inadequate. Princes and subjects feared lest Napoleon III. should try to take away from Germany the left bank of the Rhine. They agreed to demand a stronger organization, which would permit resistance to the foreigner, but they could not agree on the necessary reforms.

Austria proposed to create a federal tribunal and a council of representatives from the several governments, and to give the control to the great states alternately.

The project discussed by the princes at Frankfort ended in the creation (1863) of a Council of twenty-one delegates and a Directory of six members with a Parliament of 302 deputies. Twenty-four princes agreed to this proposition.

In Prussia, William, who became king in 1861, had given over the government into the hands of Bismarck, a nobleman of old family, an enemy to all liberal constitutions and parliaments, a partisan of government by a king, and a great admirer of Prussian institutions. He had been for several years a representative of Prussia in the Diet, and had brought back from Frankfort scorn for the Diet, for the Confederation, and for Austria. He had seen that it was for Prussia's interest that the Confederation should be destroyed, as she would always be held in check by Austria and be the victim of the jealousy manifested by the other states. He wanted to replace it with a closer union, with an elective Parliament, where the king of Prussia should have the leadership in commercial and in military matters, and where Austria would be excluded.

As early as 1862 he advised Austria to withdraw from Germany and to "transfer her centre of gravity to Budapest." But he saw clearly that Austria would not retire without a war, and he prepared for it. Two conditions seemed to him to be necessary: 1. The Prussian army must be reënforced (this was the purpose of his home policy). 2. An alliance with or the neutrality of the European powers must be assured (this was the purpose of his foreign policy).

In 1861 the Prussian army was on the same footing that it was in 1815, and as the population had increased the service had ceased to b universal. Out of 63,000 conscripts submitted each year to obligatory military duty

only 40,000 were taken, and since 1840 they had served only two years. The Landwehr service, organized as in 1815, lasted from the age of twenty-five to forty. The reserve was made up of two-year men. King William instituted three reforms. He reëstablished the universal service for every rank and for three full years. He lengthened the term of service in the reserve until the age of twenty-seven. He limited the service in the Landwehr to retirement at thirty-two years. Thus in time of war an army of 440,000 men was provided for, including the reserve, in place of 200,000, the former limit. To provide for these new soldiers the king created new regiments, which necessitated an increase in the budget. Since the revolution of 1848 there had been an elective chamber in Prussia, called the Landtag, which had not disappeared in the reaction of 1849. It was not a parliament as in the constitutional governments. The ministry was not responsible, and the House of Representatives had only to vote the laws and the budget; besides the government had acquired the habit of not presenting the budget for the vote until it had already been spent, which made this control wholly fictitious. Its power was then confined to rejecting bills and new taxes proposed by the government. Therefore no one took any notice of its existence. Little consideration was shown to a deputy who in public ceremonies ranked below a captain.

The proposed reform in the army for the first time permitted the deputies effectively to oppose the government. The Lower House, from 1858 to 1861, had not dared to refuse provision for the increase in regiments organized by the king. It had voted to maintain provisionally the enlarged army. In 1862 a new party, the party of Prog-

ress (*Fortschritt*), had just acquired the majority. It desired to avoid war and to carry out some schemes for economy. It thought the army large enough, and wanted to reduce the service to two years. So the House refused to vote for the increase. The king declared that being charged with the defence of the country, he was in a position to judge of the needs of an army; that the sums mentioned in the budget were necessary, and that the House had no right to refuse him the means for carrying on the government. The House responded that if it was obliged to vote all the sums which the king thought necessary, its deliberations would be a farce; it would no longer be a representative Assembly, but merely a consulting Council. The disagreement came from the fact that the House created in 1848 was a foreign institution. It had been borrowed from a country which admitted the sovereignty of the people, and was introduced into a military state where the king alone was sovereign. It was necessary, therefore, either that the House should force the king to yield, that is, to recognize the sovereignty of the people, or that the king should oblige the House and the people to recognize his sovereignty.

The conflict continued from 1861 to 1866. The House twice dissolved, was always reëlected, and still refused to vote. But the king would not yield. Bismarck, having become prime minister in 1862, supported him. He declared that the unity of Germany would only be brought about "by blood and iron." "We are fond," said he to the House, "of wearing a suit of armor too large for our slender body, so we ought to make use of it." He resolutely entered upon the struggle with the House. "All constitutional life is a series of compromises," he said

one day; "if compromises are out of the question because one of the powers insists on its own will with a doctrinaire absolutism, then the series of compromises is interrupted, and instead we have conflicts; and as the life of the state cannot be arrested the conflicts become questions of force, and the one who has force at his disposition carries out his idea." Bismarck and the king had force. They kept the regiments, and continued to levy the taxes, just as if the bills had been voted by the House. During all this time Bismarck was working for the isolation of Austria. He had won the support of the Emperor of Russia by helping him, in 1863, to subdue the people of Poland. He gained the favor of Napoleon III. by allowing him to think that he would be aided in his efforts to annex either Belgium or the borders of the Rhine. He drew the support of Italy by promising to give her Venetia. As for England, he realized that there was nothing to be gained there.

The question of unity was decided, as Bismarck had predicted, by iron and blood, in three wars. In 1864, Prussia and Austria made war on the King of Denmark, in order to take from him the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig; but instead of returning them to the German heir, they kept them and divided them provisionally between themselves, Austria taking Holstein. In 1866, under the pretext that Austria was favoring revolutionary ideas in Holstein, that country was occupied by Prussia. Austria appealed to the Diet, which decided in her favor. The Prussian government declared that it considered the federal compact broken, and war was declared. Bismarck had already said, in 1865, to the Bavarian minister: "It is only a duel, which will be quickly finished if Germany remains neutral; Austria is not prepared and has no

means for preparation. One battle will suffice." For the war of 1866 he had secured an alliance with Italy.

The Germans hesitated between the two enemies. The sovereigns preferred Austria, as she did not want to take away from them the sovereign power. The patriots had hoped to establish unity by the aid of Prussia. Following the example of the Italians they had, in 1859, organized a "National Union," which had, up to this time, 20,000 members, and which had declared its purpose "to push Prussia along the right road." But when they saw the government in the hands of Bismarck, and in conflict with the House, the Liberals were disgusted with Prussia. A Union for Reform was organized in 1862, which again took up the plan for a Greater Germany. Austria became popular, the emperor was enthusiastically received at Frankfort in 1863. Therefore, in 1866, nearly all the German states sided with Austria against Prussia. The war of 1866, decided by a single battle, had three results:

1. Austria withdrew from the Confederation, leaving Prussia mistress of Germany. She gave up all claims to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

2. Prussia annexed these duchies, also the states of northern Germany which she had occupied during the war (Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, Frankfort), in a way to round out her own territory. The motives given were as follows: "These governments have rejected the propositions of neutrality or alliance, which were offered them by Prussia. They have taken an active part in the war against Prussia, and have invoked for themselves and their country the decision of arms. The issue has gone against them by the decree of God. Political necessity compels us not to restore to them the authority of which they have

been deprived by the victorious march of our armies. These countries, if they kept their independence, could, by reason of their geographical position, create for the policy of Prussia embarrassments which would far exceed the extent of their power and importance." The Prussian House demanded that search be made for another reason for annexation than that of "mere force, which is not sufficient to-day as a basis for the foundation of states." Bismarck replied: "Our right is the right of the German nation to exist, to breathe, to unite, the right and duty of Prussia to give to the German nation the foundation necessary for her existence."

3. Prussia organized with the states of northern Germany, which had remained independent, a Confederation (Bund) at the same time German and Prussian. A council of delegates from the several states, and a parliament of deputies elected by universal suffrage, formulated the constitution in agreement with the Prussian government. Each of the states belonging to the North German Confederation preserved its own individual government, but all were subject to a superior federal government. The King of Prussia was made permanent president of the Confederation, and exercised his executive power through one single individual chosen at his pleasure from the Prussian ministers. This officer was the Chancellor of the Confederation. The legislative power belonged to two assemblies, the Federal Council consisted of delegates from the several governments, who were compelled to vote according to their instructions, and the Reichstag, which was composed of delegates elected by universal suffrage. Bismarck had insisted on universal suffrage, but he refused to allow any pay to the members,

or to institute a responsible imperial ministry. The powers were divided between the federal and local governments as follows: each state preserved its system of justice, police administration, public worship, finances, and education.

The federal government has charge of:

The army and navy. The King of Prussia is commander-in-chief of the army. All the states had to adopt the Prussian military system (obligatory service for three years), and the Prussian method of organization.

International relations. The King of Prussia makes war, peace, treaties, and appoints all the personnel.

Commerce and the means of communication, customs, coinage, banks, weights and measures, posts, telegraphs and railways.

Commercial law, criminal law, and judicial procedure.

The regulation of the practice of medicine, and of public hygiene.

For the federal needs, a federal budget was created, composed of the revenues from the customs, and of contributions paid by the several states. The appropriation is made for several years in advance. "If the organization of the federal army could be brought into question by an annual vote," declared Bismarck, "I should feel as if before a dike syndicate,[1] where the vote was taken every year by poll, even including non-property owners, on this question: 'Should the dike be cut at the time of great freshets or not?'"

Prussian victory put an end to the opposition in the Prussian House. The Progress party lost the majority.

[1] In the lowlands of Northern Germany, which are exposed to great inundations of the large streams or of the sea, the inhabitants are obliged to form associations in order to keep up the dikes at the common expense.

In its place was formed a party which declared its intention to sustain Bismarck in his policy without abandoning the principles of liberty and unity. It called itself the National-Liberal party.

The four states in the south, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, had not joined the Confederation. They had concluded treaties of alliance with it, and had remained in the Zollverein.

Unity has been achieved through the war with France. During the siege of Paris the princes gathered at Versailles and proclaimed the King of Prussia Emperor of Germany (January, 1871). The four states of the south became a part of the Confederation, which took the name of Empire. It was hardly anything more than a change in name. The organization was the same, no constitution for the empire was drawn up, but a new flag was adopted, the black, white, and red. When France sued for peace, the Prussian government demanded the cession of Alsace and of a part of Lorraine. Instead of annexing them to Prussia they were made into an Imperial Province, which is considered as belonging to Germany and is governed by the chancellor.

In none of the countries annexed in 1866, or in 1870, were the inhabitants consulted. The government has always remained satisfied with the right of conquest.

Thus has been realized, "through iron and blood," the unity of Germany, for the benefit of Prussia. The new empire is only the kingdom of Prussia enlarged to the limits of the territory of the Zollverein.

The new German empire is not established on the lines of race or of a willing nationality. It does not include 8,000,000 of Austrian Germans, and does include

2,000,000 Poles, who were incorporated as a part of it, being considered subjects of the King of Prussia. People were compelled to enter it, who are still protesting against the connection, Poles, Hanoverians, Danes, and Alsatians.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN GOVERNMENT

Progress of the Parliamentary Régime in Europe.—In 1848 the parliamentary régime was in force only in England, France, Belgium. There was an incomplete form of it in the secondary states of Germany, and in Holland, and a semblance of it in Spain and Portugal. Excepting the few South German states it had not penetrated to the centre or to the east of Europe. The revolution of 1848 had shaken every country, Russia excepted, where there was absolute government. The governments, frightened by the riots, promised constitutions and called constituent assemblies. There was such an assembly in Prussia, in Austria, and in Hungary. A parliament in Germany, and constitutions in all the Italian states. But the governments were quickly reassured, and in 1849 they withdrew almost all that they had granted.

There remained nothing of this movement but the parliamentary system in Holland, organized in 1848, that of the kingdom of Sardinia, and the Prussian constitution of 1850, which was almost a reproduction of the constitution of 1848, itself an imitation of the Belgian constitution. It proclaimed equality before the law, and the liberty of the individual, established a parliament, consisting of a House of Lords and an elective Lower House, but in fact the power of the king was still absolute.

The reaction against the movement of 1848 lasted until 1860. From that time the constitutional system made

rapid progress, according to the increase in numbers, wealth, and intelligence of the bourgeoisie. It followed the example of the most civilized countries of the west and it was supported by a national movement. It profited by the growing weakness of Austria, which led in the restoration of absolute power. The parliamentary system was established in Italy in 1860–61, in Austria from 1862 to 1867, and in Hungary in 1866.

In the countries where the constitutional system had been introduced, the power of the sovereign and of the Upper House was waning, and that of the elective body was increasing. The sovereignty of the people was effacing the sovereignty of the prince. Everywhere the authority rested in the two houses. The constitution regulated the rights of the citizens, the press was free. There was no longer an absolutist party. All the politicians, even the princes, rallied about the constitutional principle. The parties henceforth called each other openly Conservatives and Liberals. The only disagreement was on the influence, more or less great, which should remain in the hands of the families, which were of aristocratic lineage or wealth, and were denominated the ruling classes.

The only country of Europe which has retained the absolute system of the seventeenth century is Russia.[1] The government is exercised by the ministers of the czar without the aid of any chosen assembly (the consulting councils of the provinces are no longer called together), the journals are submitted to censure, and the police deport to Siberia, "by administrative process," without any trial, people who are suspected of revolutionary sentiments.

[1] The first "Duma" assembled in May, 1906.

As for the empire of Germany, since 1866 it has been following an intermediate system. There is a general parliament, the Reichstag, and there are parliaments in each province, the Landtags; these are elective, and vote the taxes. But the Parliament is not sovereign. The emperor, following the traditions of the Prussian royal family, looks upon himself as sovereign, and superior to the will of the Reichstag.

The Radical Party.—The constitutional party did not want to break away from the traditions. It admitted that a nation should be governed according to the ancient methods, and not attempt alone to regulate its affairs. It only demanded the reforms necessary so that the nation, in case of need, could impose its will on the government. Toward 1830 a party was formed, which was not contented with partial reforms, but demanded a radical change in the system of government. This was called the Radical Party. It was first organized in England (1815) and in Switzerland; afterward in the western countries of Europe. In each country there was an effort to convert the electors so as to obtain a majority in parliament, and be able to reorganize the government, according to the principles of the party.

The Radical Party has no respect for traditions. It has formulated the principle that a people should not allow itself to be governed according to ancient methods, but should establish new rules suited to the present time. Of these rules, some are drawn from humanity and justice (this was especially the belief of the French radicals), while others want to draw them from science (this is the English method). Therefore, the Radicals differ greatly in opinion concerning the system which should be estab-

lished. They also differ in regard to the purpose of government, and so completely that they bring up two quite antagonistic theories.

One theory regards the definite purpose of the government to be the assurance of liberty to the individual. Individuals should be allowed to develop without restraint, they will be happier and more active, they will be able to make more progress, society will regulate itself better than under established rules. The state should be content to assure to each one personal liberty, and should constrain no one beyond what is necessary for the protection of the rights of others. It is only an organization for mutual defence. It should not be burdened with works useful to the community; they belong to private individuals who are interested in them. A weak government is therefore necessary, so that there should be no temptation to violate the liberty of the individual. Such is the theory of the Liberal-Radicals.

The opposing theory is based on the idea that it is the mission of the state to render men happy, and to see that justice reigns. It has the right to regulate everything in the interest of the greatest number, since it has received its authority from the sovereign people. It is not obliged to respect personal liberty if it interferes with the fulfilment of the mission of government. As far as the state is concerned the individual has no rights. Therefore the government must be a strong one in order to break down the resistance of the individual. This is the theory of Authoritarian-Radicals. These two theories correspond to two opposing sentiments—love of progress and love of order. The Liberals desire indefinite progress; the Authoritarians want a perfect society, and allow progress

only up to the moment when perfection is attained. Between these two extreme theories there are many intermediate opinions. One party of Liberal-Radicals asserts that the functions of a state are not only to maintain peace, but to undertake all works useful to society in which private individuals are not interested. The state should build the bridges, the harbors, the highways, preserve the forests, support scientific and educational establishments. There is no agreement as to the support of the church; the usual theory advanced is that of separation of church and state.

The large majority of European radicals belong to the Authoritarian faction.

Universal Suffrage.—The principle of the parliamentary system is that the power belongs to an elective parliament, but it is not necessary that all the inhabitants should have the right to vote, neither that all the electors should have equal suffrage. In England the land owners and large farmers alone used to vote, and the vote of an elector in a borough had more weight than that of one in the county.

The countries which have adopted the English system have all restricted the right of suffrage to the inhabitants who paid the tax fixed by law. They only could vote, be voted for, and take part in the government; they only formed the "pays légal," the others were not consulted. Such was the system of restricted suffrage.

To this system the partisans of democracy have opposed universal suffrage, which constitutes all men electors. Universal suffrage was at first exercised only in some of the Swiss cantons, where it was the custom in the Middle Ages, and in the United States, where it was gradually introduced between 1783 and 1830. The French Repub-

licans had tried it in 1792, but it was soon abandoned in France. The Radicals of every country have demanded it, on the principle of equality before the law.

Universal suffrage had been established all at once in France through the revolution of 1848, in Germany after the victories of Prussia (1866) through the chancellor, Bismarck, who hoped to use it in forwarding his plans for unity. The other countries, without abandoning the principle of restricted suffrage, have enlarged the boundaries little by little, until all the inhabitants have become a part of the electoral body. Suffrage has become almost universal in England through two reforms, in 1865 and 1885. Not more than about 1,800,000 Englishmen are non-electors.

In Italy the tax exacted by the Constitution of Sardinia as a voting requisite has been lowered (1882) to a point that increased the number of electors from 500,000 to 2,500,000. In Spain universal suffrage, established after the revolution of 1868, abolished by the restoration of 1874, has been reëstablished (1890). In no country is the voting tax high.

Direct Government by the Lower House.—In the states which have a republican form of government, the principle of the sovereignty of the nation has given rise to two different forms of parliamentary régime. In the United States the nation elects (by a suffrage in two stages) a President of the Republic, who is charged with the executive power for four years; the cabinet is chosen by him, and is not responsible to Congress. Congress makes the laws and votes the appropriations. The President nominates the officials[1] and exercises the executive power. Congress and

[1] Not all officials, see Constitution, Article II, Section II, Clause 2.

the President have both sovereign and independent powers: Congress in voting against the President does not cause his fall, and the President cannot dissolve the Congress. This system makes the government more independent of the two houses than is the parliamentary régime. It is true that in the United States, where each state regulates almost all public affairs, there remains very little authority in the central government.[1] According as the parliamentary system grew older, and the House became more powerful, there was a tendency to transformation. There is an approach to a system which leaves with the House the authority to name the ministers, to dismiss them, and to give them their orders. There is, then, no longer a ministry, only executives of the will of the House. This is direct government by the House, it was practised by the Convention in France, and is very different from the parliamentary system.

The principle of the parliamentary system is that the leader of the majority should choose the ministers, his colleagues, and should direct affairs according to a plan which constitutes a "ministerial policy." The House can overthrow the ministry by voting against it, if there is a disapproval of its policy; but it cannot give orders to, or direct, and dictate the action of the ministers. The chief of the Council is in the position of a contractor whom the House has employed to govern. For this purpose there must be a fixed majority in the House, decided to always vote in favor of the ministry.

So long, therefore, as there are only two parties in parliament, one always has a majority. Such has been

[1] The author here minimizes the power of the central government in the United States.—Ed.

the case in England for a century and a half. But in the countries where several parties have been formed, it becomes difficult to preserve a majority; for unless one party is very much larger than all the others together, the parties opposed to the ministry unite in order to vote against it, and form a coalition. The ministry falls and there is nowhere to choose another from, for no ministry can have a majority. This has been the case in England since, beside the two old parties, the Irish and Radical parties have been organized. It is, then, becoming more and more difficult to practice a parliamentary government, which is replaced by direct government by the House.[1]

[1] A new system, government direct by the people, has been experimented upon in Switzerland, under the form of referendum and initiative. It is as yet only the germ of a new political system.

CHAPTER XIII

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century.—The Ottoman empire, founded near the close of the Middle Ages by a family of Turkish sultans, had preserved its immense territory: in Europe the peninsula of the Balkans, and to the north of the Danube, Roumania (this country was all called European Turkey). In Asia Minor and the country of the Euphrates as far as Persia (Asiatic Turkey), Syria and the protectorate of Arabia; in Africa Egypt and Tripoli. But this empire, disorganized since the seventeenth century, was threatened with ruin. Like all the Oriental states it was subjected to a despotic and lawless government. The sultan's power was arbitrary, but as he lived shut up in his seraglio, ignorant of the affairs of the government, all authority was in the hands of the grand vizier and of the service chiefs chosen from among his favorites. The army was formed of cavalry (spahis) who lived on lands given them by the sultan, and of foot-soldiers (janissaries) who were divided into 199 companies, and were stationed at Constantinople. But the spahis would no longer serve, and the janissaries, instead of being recruited from the slaves of the sultan, and remaining celibate, married, and transmitted their posts to their sons, who looked upon the office as hereditary and occupied themselves at the same time with other business.

It was a very undisciplined troop in time of war, and very turbulent in peace, which held the sultan a prisoner in his own capital.

Each province had a military governor, sent from Constantinople, who had absolute power and bore the title of pasha. The pashas were the slaves of the sultan, who could, by giving the order, have their heads cut off, and brought to the seraglio. But the majority had bought their provinces from the favorites, who made the appointments, and those in command of an army corps often revolted against orders coming from Constantinople.

The finances were as rudely organized as in former times. There was no system of bookkeeping or auditing; the papers were kept in sacks. As there was no budget, the sultan and his favorites took all the money which they desired from the treasury. There was no regular assessment nor systematic collection of taxes. The tax on the Christians and the Jews, the rents of the sultan's domain, the customs, all were farmed out to collectors, who oppressed the people.

To the vices of a despotic Oriental régime the Ottoman empire added causes of weakness which were a part of its own character. It was an empire exclusively Mussulman. The sultan had succeeded the Caliphs. He was head of the faith. As in all Mussulman countries the Koran was the only law, religious, civil, or political. The state was subject to the church. Religion was obligatory. Every Mussulman, who denied Islam, was put to death by order of the government. Mussulmans alone formed the Ottoman nation. But unlike the Christian states of the Middle Ages, which allowed only Christians within their boundaries, the Mussulmans tolerated Christians

and Jews in their midst. These infidels, not having the power to be citizens, lived in a very inferior position, deprived of every political right, outside of the law, since the Koran was the law of the empire. This is the meaning of the name raïas (herd). They were subject to a heavy tax, the Kharadj, and to forced labor (corvée). They were not admitted into the army nor allowed to hold any civil office.

This was not a distinction of race. The Christian European descendant of the conquered peoples, when he became a Mussulman, became also the equal of the Turkish Mussulman; the Koran does not admit inequality among believers, so there were Albanian and Slav Mussulmans (the Bosnians and the Pomaks of Bulgaria).

With a democratic organization the empire had then an aristocracy; the equality was complete, but among Mussulmans only; they formed, so far as the infidels were concerned, an aristocracy of religion. Society was divided into two necessarily unequal classes, the Mussulmans and the raïas, which could not unite, and which remained forever hostile to each other.

The sultan could count upon the Mussulmans, but the oppressed Christians could not be faithful subjects. Now in conquering them, the empire had left them their religion and political organization. They had retained their language, customs, even their clergy and their village administration. The Christian peoples of the fifteenth century had been preserved intact under the domination of the sultans, just as the pictures in the Church of Saint Sophia were preserved under the coating of whitewash, which had been given them by order of Mahomet II. In Asia the majority of the population was Turk and

Mussulman. There were no raïas except Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, dispersed in small communities, pacific, and incapable of revolt. But in Europe the Mussulmans were few in number, and under them were all the small nations that it had taken a century for the sultans to subdue.

North of the Danube the Roumanians were tributary only, but had been governed since the seventeenth century by the Greeks of the Phanar (the Greek quarter of Constantinople), who bought their functions from the government of the sultan. No Mussulmans had settled in the country. South of the Danube, the Serbians, exploited by the Mussulman warriors, who were proprietors of all the lands, formed a nation of peasants. Their neighbors to the east, the Bulgarians, occupied the two slopes of the Balkans, the three provinces of Bulgaria, Roumelia and Macedonia; they, too, were nothing but peasants, but they were almost the sole inhabitants of the country. Back in the mountains religions and conditions were more mixed. Bosnia had remained Slav, but almost the half of the Bosnian Slavs had become Mussulmans in the fifteenth century, and they formed a class of warlike land-owners, strong enough to keep the Christian peasants in a state of servitude. Epirus had kept its former population (the Albanians), and its parent tongue, the primitive Greek. Part of the Albanians had become Mussulmans, the others had remained Christian; but all had kept their ancient customs, half-peasant, half-brigand. They formed small armed bands, almost independent in their mountain fastnesses. The Turkish government demanded little of them except to come to arms when they were called upon to do so.

In the south, and in the archipelago, the Greeks had again formed a nation, and the most intelligent began to consider themselves direct descendants of the ancient Hellenes.

All these peoples had been subdued by force, and force only could keep them submissive.

Finally the Ottoman empire, being a Mussulman state, had never been admitted into the concert of the Christian European powers. The Christian sovereigns formed a sort of family, the sultan remained a stranger; he had only one ally, the King of France. He had settled in Europe by right of conquest; the other sovereigns could have expelled him by force. His states remained outside of international law, just like a vacant domain, which could be occupied by any one. In 1787 Russia and Austria had become allies in order to conquer, and to share with each other the country of Turkey in Europe.

The empire was thus menaced with many dangers: the rioting of the janissaries at Constantinople, revolts of the pashas in the provinces, uprisings of the Christian nations, conquest by Russia or Austria.

During the wars in Europe against France the danger diminished on the part of Europe. The Austrian government, occupied in the west, gave up the plan of aggrandizement in the Orient; it forgot the interests of Austria along the Danube, and instead of conquering the Ottoman empire, it sought to preserve it. England, which until that time had taken little interest in Oriental affairs, found herself brought, through an expedition by the French to Egypt, into an alliance with the sultan; then, when the English had finished conquering India, they grew accustomed to the idea that they ought to prevent the other

nations of Europe, France and Russia, from mingling in the affairs of the Orient. The Ottoman empire had henceforth three allies in Europe, all desirous of maintaining it intact. These were France, Austria, and England. Only one enemy remained, Russia, which had tried to take away Roumania (1806–1812); but during the conflict with France the czar had been obliged to put off his projects for conquest.

The Eastern Question in the Nineteenth Century.— When peace was reëstablished in Europe, in 1814, the Ottoman empire became again the object of a contest between the European powers. The Austrian government had demanded, at the Congress of Vienna, that they should guarantee to the sultan the integrity of his territories, which would have admitted the Ottoman empire into the European concert. Russia refused. So the empire remained outside of international law and exposed to dismemberment. But as each one of the great powers was interested in the fate of the territories forming that vast empire, all maintained that they should be consulted in the regulation of the affairs of the Orient. The statesmen began to keep on the watch for any events which might risk the bringing about of a change in the Turkish empire, and in the projects of the European governments, so as to be ready to interpose at the moment any power should seek to intervene in Turkey. From 1815 the constant preoccupation of the diplomats was the Eastern Question, as it was henceforth called.

The Eastern Question could be expressed thus: The Ottoman empire: shall it be maintained or dismembered? If it was to be dismembered, two questions arose: 1. What power will take possession of the dismembered territories?

2. What will become of the petty Christian nations, which are subject to the sultan? Of these two questions the first alone occupied the attention of the diplomats. Accustomed to consider only the sovereigns and their difficulties, they troubled themselves very little about the people of Turkey. They were thinking of hardly anything but the rivalry among the European states, and were laboring to maintain a condition which would relieve them from seeking for a new solution of the question on which they would have to agree. Therefore, the intervention of the European states resulted in a continuation of the Eastern Question.

But, notwithstanding the efforts of the diplomats, the power of the sultan was threatened many times, and by enemies sufficiently dangerous to oblige the powers to come to his defence. Each time the Eastern Question is presented in a new form.

1. From 1825 to 1829 the question concerned Greece. The Greek rebels had asked the protection of the Christian states against the Mussulman Turks. Metternich pledged the great powers to send a refusal. He insisted on preserving the Ottoman empire, and saw in the Greeks only revolutionists, and rebels to their legitimate sovereign. He succeeded, in fact, with the Czar of Russia, Alexander. The Turkish soldiers massacred the peaceable inhabitants of the island of Chios; in Constantinople the sultan had the Christian patriarch, together with three archbishops and three priests, hanged at the door of the principal church. Metternich was hardly moved by it. "I do not care much about the 300,000 or 400,000 men hanged, strangled, or impaled beyond our eastern borders." But in most of Europe the public, especially the intelli-

gent, cultivated men, were seized with compassion for this Christian people, descendants of the Hellenes of antiquity. Societies of Philhellenes were formed; a Geneva banker got up subscriptions; money and arms were sent to the Greeks; French, English, German volunteers went to Greece to aid in her defence. Then gradually the public compelled the statesmen to intervene in favor of the Greeks. Nicholas I., the new Czar of Russia, declared himself for them as they were Christians (1825); and Russia and England agreed to demand the independence of the Greeks from the sultan. The negotiations lasted three years. Divers solutions of the question were proposed. The sultan refused them all, fourteen different times. He sent against Greece the fleet and the army of the Pasha of Egypt, which ravaged and subdued the whole of the Morea. The Russian and English governments then joined with the French government, and all three sent a fleet, not to make war on the sultan, but to compel the Egyptian fleet to retire (1827). This brought on the battle of Navarino. In 1828 the czar sent two armies against Turkey, declaring that he would make neither conquest nor revolution. The Ottoman empire was enfeebled by the loss of the janissaries. The ordinary allies of the sultan, England, France, and Austria did not dare to take up his defence. France even sent an army corps to the Morea in aid of Greece. The Russians, in 1829, were able to cross the Danube and to march on Constantinople. The sultan sued for peace. He gave up Greece, and promised to leave the navigation of the Danube and the Dardanelles free. He also promised to pay an indemnity to Russia. As he could not pay it, he became a dependent of Rus-

sia. The Ottoman empire became the protégé of the czar.

2. From 1831 to 1833, the Eastern Question was presented in the conflict against Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. In exchange for his expedition against Greece, Mehemet was given the government of St. Jean d'Acre. His personal enemy, Chosrew Pasha, having become grand vizier, interfered. Mehemet decided to take it by force. He was declared a rebel, but his army conquered Syria, and vanquished the army of the sultan in Asia Minor. The sultan, influenced by the enemies of Mehemet, asked help of the czar. A Russian army came and camped before Constantinople. The English and French governments, fearing to see the sultan fall entirely into the hands of Russia, persuaded him to accept the conditions of peace proposed by Mehemet; that is, to let him have the government of Syria during his lifetime. The czar profited by his influence with the sultan and obtained the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833). The czar and the sultan promised mutual defence, but the sultan was not required to send troops to aid Russia, and instead opened the straits to the Russian navy. This pretended treaty of alliance put the Ottoman empire under the protection of Russia.

3. In 1839–1840 the Eastern Question once more came up on account of Mehemet Ali. Chosrew, returning from an expedition against the Kurds, in the mountains of the Tigris, had made an attack on Syria. War was renewed, and, as in 1833, the army of Mehemet invaded Asia Minor. Mehemet declared that he was not making war on the sultan, his master, but on the servants of his master; that he hoped to overthrow the grand vizier

and that he himself would become prime minister to the sultan. But the English government interfered at this time, and in concert with the czar. The English as well as the Russians were enemies of Mehemet—the Russians because they feared lest in taking possession of the empire he would fortify it and render it capable of resisting them; the English, because Mehemet once master of Egypt, could cut off their communication with India. "If India is vulnerable," said Palmerston, "it is through Egypt." England and Russia united with Austria and Prussia to form the "Quadruple Alliance," which declared for the defence of the sultan and ordered Mehemet to withdraw into Egypt. France supported Mehemet. She hoped that he would regenerate Turkey as he had reorganized Egypt, and, therefore, she refused to unite with the other powers. The whole system of alliances was thus destroyed. Since 1830 the two constitutional monarchies, France and England, had been united against the absolutist governments; in 1840 France found herself alone against England and the other three powers just as in 1814. The Liberals brought up in admiration of Napoleon I. wanted to declare war. They would have profited by this Eastern Question for the purpose of breaking the treaties of 1815, and of retaking the left bank of the Rhine. The Thiers ministry supported this policy, and encouraged Mehemet not to yield, but the king wanted peace, and Thiers himself knew that it was impossible to make war against all Europe. The French government withdrew its fleet from the Levant, England sent a fleet which compelled Mehemet to accept the conditions laid down by the Quadruple Alliance, to give up Syria (1840). In order to deprive Russia of her protection of the sultan,

England secured the Straits Convention (1841), in which all the powers pledged themselves not to allow ships of war to enter either the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles, and they also promised to guarantee to the sultan all his territory. Thanks to the intervention of united Europe the Ottoman empire remained intact. For the first time it was treated as a European state, and was protected by international law.

The government of the sultan itself tried to strengthen the Ottoman empire, and to bring it into favor with Europe by the introduction of European institutions. The reform had begun in 1826. Sultan Mahmoud compared himself to Peter the Great, who had introduced modern civilization into his empire. In order to imitate the Europeans he drank wine and made his ministers drink it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Koran. He ordered that the beard should be cut an inch below the chin. He especially wanted to have a European army. In 1826 he had got rid of the janissaries; after having arranged with their chiefs he had ordered them to furnish 150 men from each company in order to form a new corps of troops. The janissaries had mutinied, cannon were fired on them in their barracks, but the back doors were left open for their escape. An army of 70,000 men was organized after European models. A Prussian officer, the celebrated von Moltke, who aided in creating this army, thus described it: "An army after the European model with Russian tunics, French regulations, Belgian guns, Turkish turbans, Hungarian saddles, English sabres, and instructors from every nation—an army composed of timariots, of soldiers for life, of reserves with indeterminate service, in which the leaders were

recruits, and the recruits enemies of those of the day before."

Reschid Pasha, who governed in the name of Mahmoud, then in the name of his successor, attempted more serious reforms. He ordered light-houses built, and established a sanitary quarantine at Constantinople. He had a uniform customs tariff adopted, which enabled foreigners to trade with Turkey (up to that time the merchants had been subjected to different tariffs according to the nation from which they came). He procured a decision that officials should receive a fixed salary. He even wanted to introduce civil liberty into Turkey. November 2, 1839, the sultan assembled, at his palace of Guhlane, all of the principal dignitaries, the representatives of the Christian churches, the European diplomats, to hear read the *hatti-cherif*, in which he promised a general reform. The misfortunes of Turkey, said this act, came from abandoning old customs. In order to repair them there must be a new constitution established. (The government found itself caught between the old Turks, who insisted upon the old customs, and the Europeans, who recommended reforms. It got out of the difficulty by a phrase, the end of which contradicts the beginning.) The sultan promised security to the individual, and equality of taxation. He announced the abolition of monopolies, of confiscation, of the farming out of taxes, and added, "These royal concessions are secured to all *of whatever religion they may be.*" At a reception of the chiefs of the Christian communities, Reschid declared that Mussulmans and Christians were all alike subjects of the sultan. That was to announce a revolution. The old Turks, indignant at seeing the infidels treated as the equals of believers, began to intrigue

against Reschid Pasha and caused his dismissal. Reschid returned to power, but could only maintain his position by avoiding a conflict with the beliefs of the Mussulmans. A young Armenian Christian, who in a moment of wrath had become a Mussulman, returned to the Christian faith. Now the Koran declares that every renegade Mussulman deserves death. The European governments demanded pardon for the young man. He was executed. "I know," said Reschid to the European diplomats, "that my government is still far from efficient, but I prevent its being worse." To carry out a veritable reform, a personnel on whom dependence could be placed was necessary. The Mussulmans were too ignorant to understand the new régime. "A Turk, who knows how to read and write," said von Moltke, "poses as a Hafiz—savant." He added that it was impossible to employ foreigners, for "the best gift is an object of suspicion if it comes from the hand of a Christian."

At last, however, a regular army was created, with a term of five years (Nizam) and the reserve (Rédif) for seven years. The Ottoman bank was founded, but with a European personnel. By the establishment of a single tariff of nine per cent. the empire was opened to European merchants. The nations began to hope that the Ottoman empire would reform itself and thus be saved from dismemberment. The Eastern Question was not again raised for a period of twelve years.[1]

4. The question again arose in 1852. The Czar Nicholas had never given up the idea of conquest so far as the Ottoman empire was concerned. He called it the

[1] There were only some difficulties between the Greek and Latin Churches over the possession of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.

"Sick man of Europe." On a journey to England (1844) he said: "There are two opinions in my cabinet on the subject of Turkey. According to one she is dying; the other maintains that she is already dead. In either case, nothing will prevent her speedy end." In 1852 he said to the English ambassador that "it was time for them to agree about the funeral," and that he had decided to occupy Constantinople, not as a possession, but as a pledge. The Turkish empire was again menaced with invasion by Russia. The English government determined to save it by force, and looked about for allies. The King of Prussia did not dare to intervene; Austria contented herself with protests. But Napoleon III., having become emperor, seized this opportunity of again restoring to France an active rôle in the affairs of Europe. He won over the King of Sardinia, who was anxious to please him, and an alliance was formed between England, France, and Sardinia. The Russians had invaded the provinces along the Danube. The three powers sent a fleet, then an army, to Turkey. The Russians withdrew almost without a combat. However, the allies wanted to prevent the czar from again beginning the war by the destruction of his forces on the Black Sea. They laid siege to the Russian arsenal in the Crimea, Sebastopol. After a siege of 350 days it was taken and destroyed.

The Congress of Paris, where were representatives from all the great powers, regulated the affairs of the Orient (1856). The Black Sea became neutral water; no ships of war could remain there. The Danube was declared neutral, and an international commission was formed to control the navigation of the stream. The powers guaranteed the integrity of Ottoman territory. Thus the

European states defended the sultan against Russia. In return they demanded certain reforms which he had announced, and the establishment of an equitable government for his Christian subjects. The sultan issued an edict (February 18, 1856), when he proclaimed the principle of liberty and equality before the law; the Christians should no longer pay the poll-tax; they should be admitted to the army, and they should have representatives in the councils. The European states declared their "appreciation of the high value of this communication," adding that it gave them no right "to interfere in the relations of the sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of the empire." They exacted promises of reform from the Turkish government, but they took no precautions to oblige it to keep these promises.

The government could not keep them without overturning the organization of the empire. The only law was the religious Mussulman law, and it did not protect the Christians. On the other hand, the Christians were organized in small communities, each sect by itself, governed by bishops who had the privilege of administering both in civil and in religious affairs. Therefore, the government could not establish an equal law for all without a violation of Mussulman laws and of Christian privileges. The Mussulmans were not willing to obey the infidels, therefore the Christians could not be admitted to the functions of the government. The Mussulmans continued their ill-treatment of the Christians, who could not obtain justice in the Mussulman courts. The Christians did not care to serve in the Turkish army, suffering to buy exemption from such service, so that the poll-tax, which had been abolished, was soon restored under the

form of exemption-tax. The two statesmen who controlled affairs, Ali and Fuad, partisans of European institutions, established tribunals, and councils of administration throughout the empire, and the Christians were to share in them. But the Mussulmans ruled; at Adrianople 4,000 Mussulmans had eleven representatives, while 60,000 Christians had only three. When the European governments began an investigation of the result of the reforms they found that the laws had not been executed. The Christians were still treated and acted as inferiors. Two only had reached the rank of pasha, and they had no employment. The courts, which were to have held procedure in public, kept their doors guarded by police, and would not listen to the testimony of a Christian. The police were recruited from among the brigands, and oppressed the people.

The allies of the sultan demanded that he carry out the reforms in good faith. Two methods were proposed to him. The French government made him promise to "suppress all distinctions between the various Ottoman nationalities." By giving to all his subjects the same rights they would be fused into one nation as in France. The Russian government was opposed to this fusion, and proposed "a separation of Christian and Mussulman interests." "The doctrine of the Koran traces an impassable line between Turks and Christians. Equality before the law will never be realized in Turkey (1867)." The counsel of France was sincere, but impracticable; that of Russia was practicable, but it led to dismemberment of the empire and that was what Russia so much desired.

The Turkish empire was protected only by the agreement between France and England. The defeat of

France in 1870 gave Russia liberty to act. She began by a declaration that the treaty of Paris was annulled, and sent out a fleet of war-ships on the Black Sea. Then she stirred up the Christian Slavs of Herzegovina to revolt against the authority of the sultan.

5. The Eastern Question again arose (1875), apropos of the Christian Slavs. The sultan had, in 1875, published edicts which promised liberty and equality, but none of the powers had any more faith in his promises. On the proposal of Austria the great powers declared that the sultan must reform the taxes and the judiciary, and that "the carrying out of the reforms must not be left to the discretion of the pashas." They demanded a "board of control to be made up of Christians and Mussulmans." While the mountaineers of Herzegovina, supported by the Montenegrins, engaged the attention of the Turkish army, the Slav peasants of Bulgaria tried to declare their independence. The government turned loose on them the Bashi-Bazouks, who rushed on the defenceless villages, destroying them by hundreds, massacring from 20,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, and carrying off 12,000 women into slavery. The "Bulgarian atrocities" filled all Europe with indignation (1876). The civilized governments no longer dared to defend the Turkish empire.

The Turks themselves were divided: the new party, Young Turkey, under the leadership of Midhat Pasha, demanded that a chamber composed of representatives of all races and religions be formed. The sultan was deposed and his nephew Mourad (1876) succeeded him, but was himself deposed in less than three months. Then a constitution, drawn up in secret, was promulgated, December, 1876. It established a constitutional govern-

ment, with a senate and an elective chamber. But these so-called elected deputies had no will but that of the government. They were surnamed the "Yes, Sirs." It was a comedy which was played for the benefit of Europe. "The new institutions," said the Turkish government, "establish in the empire the reign of liberty, justice, equality; that is to say, the triumph of civilization." It concludes, therefore, that Turkey, having reformed herself, has no need of the intervention of the foreigners. The European governments agreed to demand a system of autonomy, giving to the different races the right to control their own affairs, and certain guarantees against arbitrary authority. This was the régime proposed by Russia. The Turkish government declared that the demand was contrary to the new constitution and presented it to a grand council (Divan) which rejected it by 236 votes against 1. The ambassadors of the European states were recalled.

The Ottoman empire was obliged to depend on its own forces. It had resisted the Montenegrins, and had just repulsed the Servian army. The czar went to war, obtained permission to go through Roumania, and invaded Turkey (1877). Europe did not interfere, as in 1853. After a fatiguing campaign the Russian army resumed its march of 1829, and arrived at Adrianople. As in 1829 the czar imposed his conditions. The sultan recognized the complete independence of the three Christian states, allies of Russia, Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, and ceded bits of territory to them. He gave up all the Bulgarian countries. A new Bulgarian state was to include Roumelia on the north and south of the Balkans and Macedonia. Of Turkey in Europe the sultan retained

only three isolated remnants: Bosnia, Albania, Roumelia. The European governments found this dismemberment too complete, too favorable to Russia; they compelled the czar to agree to a general congress in order to determine the situation of the Ottoman empire. The congress of Berlin acknowledged the independence of the three Christian states, and the cessions which had been made to them, but reduced the share of Montenegro. It also cut down the territories in Asia Minor, which had been ceded to Russia, and declared Batoum a free port. It maintained the neutrality of the straits and of the Danube. But it could not accept the Bulgaria of the treaty. Only the country to the north of the Balkans formed the principality of Bulgaria, and was to remain a vassal of the sultan; the Bulgarian country to the south of the Balkans became the province of Eastern Roumelia, the government to be administered by a European commission under a governor named by the sultan; the Bulgarians of Macedonia were simply returned to the Turkish empire.

The congress diminished the shares of Russia and her allies, but it dismembered the empire in favor of the neutral states. To Greece it granted, on the demand of France and Italy, the larger part of Thessaly. Austria was to take care of insurgent Bosnia and of Herzegovina. England had already obtained permission from the sultan to occupy the island of Cyprus.

Almost all of European Turkey has been thus torn away from the sultan. There remain to him only the countries inhabited by Mussulmans (Albania and the province of Constantinople), and as regards Christian subjects, only the Bulgarians of Macedonia and the Greeks of the prov-

ince of Salonica. The dismembered countries have again become independent states, such as they were before the conquest in the fifteenth century. The Eastern Question has been solved in a fashion not foreseen by the diplomats, through the reconstitution of the four nations, Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria (without counting Montenegro).

Establishment of the Greek Nation.—The Greek nation, much exhausted in the Middle Ages, had been reconstituted under Turkish rule. The Greeks had gradually Hellenized the Slavs and the Albanians who were settled in Greece. A nation speaking the Greek language had been formed which occupied almost the same territory as the ancient Hellas, all the south of Turkey in Europe, from Thessaly, the archipelago, and the shores of Asia Minor. During the wars from 1793 to 1814, the Greek sailors, sailing under the Turkish flag, with the privilege of remaining neutral among the hostile nations, built up a merchant marine which controlled almost all the commerce of the Mediterranean. They were the carriers to Europe, too, of Russian wheat from Odessa. In 1816 they had 600 ships, armed with 6,000 guns and 17,000 sailors. Almost all the sailors lived on three rocky, bare, and sterile islets opposite the coast of Argolis, Hydra, Spetzai and Psara. They formed three small republics, which the sultan left free to rule themselves. The inhabitants were armed and accustomed to fight pirates on the seas. Peace in Europe reduced them to a state of poverty.

In the mountains of Maina (ancient Laconia) and central Greece bands of irregular militia, the Klephts, the Pallicares, were accustomed always to go about armed.

They fought each other like sharpshooters, from behind rocks, and only obeyed the local chiefs. In Maina each of these captains had his fortified tower or stronghold.

Thus the Greeks had an army and a navy ready for combat. At the same time, the wealthy Greek merchants sent their sons abroad for study, and the cultivated Greeks founded academies and colleges. The Greek language, which had become debased under the Turkish dominion, was reconstituted. They hoped to reorganize their state. As early as 1797 a Greek from Thessaly, Rhigas, had composed a national hymn, an imitation of the Marseillaise: "Rise, sons of Greece, the glorious day is nigh."

The revolt began at the same time in Epirus, in the Morea, and in Roumania. It was soon suppressed in the north, but the Morea and the islands succeeded in expelling the Turk. Then began a bloody war which lasted for eight years (1821–1829). The Greeks lost Thessaly, but were able to hold the Morea and the islands. It was a war of ambuscades and sieges. The insurgents had formed three governments, which were united in a single one. But the leaders were divided into two parties: on one side the islanders and the notables of the Morea, on the other the Klephts. Civil war was the result. In 1826 all Greece was subdued by the Mussulmans, and the two Greek parties, who had sought refuge at Patras, had again begun to fight among themselves.

The intervention of the European states saved Greece. At first they proposed to create three petty Greek states, vassals of the sultan. The exhausted Greeks consented (their government had only sixteen piastres and no more powder). The sultan refused.

In 1829 the victorious czar forced the sultan to grant complete independence to the Greeks, and Greece was to establish a kingdom with a European king. But the diplomats were not willing to make a real power out of it. They refused to give up Thessaly and Crete. They confined it to the poorest part, the territory south of the gulfs of Arta and Volo. This section, in 1829, was almost a desert, so fearful was the devastation caused by the wars.

This small kingdom was not rich enough to support itself. Therefore, the Greeks continually stirred up an agitation, whose purpose was the annexation of all countries with a Greek population. But the European states were afraid of weakening the Ottoman empire. Only in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, did France succeed in obtaining the annexation of Thessaly to the Greek dominion. It took three years to put the kingdom in full possession of the new domain.

In 1833 Greece was organized as an absolute monarchy with Otto, Prince of Bavaria, as king. In 1842 the Greeks compelled the king to grant them a constitution. In 1863 Otto was expelled. Greece has become a constitutional monarchy.

Formation of the Servian, Roumanian and Bulgarian Nations.—The Servian nation gradually and quietly became independent. At the beginning of the century the Servians were still only a peasant people. Some cultivated fields of maize, others were swine-herds in the great oak forests. The only notables were the pork-dealers, and the people who had seen service in the Austrian army. From 1804 to 1813 the Servians, profiting by the conflicts between the janissaries and the Mussulman governors, had revolted (first in the name of

the sultan), under the leadership of a noted pork-merchant, and formerly a petty officer in the Austrian army, Karageorge (Black George). They then became independent, but the Russian government had abandoned them and the insurgents were obliged to take refuge in Austria.

Another pork-dealer, Miloch Obrenovitch, set up his authority as a servant of the Turkish government, and by fighting the insurgents. He obtained permission for the Servians to keep their arms, and he was charged with collecting the taxes, and with the appointment of the Servian judges.[1] In 1820 he received the title of "Prince of the Servians of the Pashalik of Belgrade." During all the wars he remained faithful to the sultan, who rewarded him by making him an hereditary prince (1830), giving him the Servian districts outside of the pashalik, and ordering the Turks to evacuate all of Servia but Belgrade. The Servians had again become an independent nation. Miloch governed despotically. He had a monopoly of the commerce in salt and in pork. He forced his subjects to come and reap his fields. Russia finding him too powerful, obliged him to establish a senate composed of noted Servians. Miloch could not endure this control and finally abdicated in 1839. His sons succeeded him. The second son was overthrown in 1842, and the insurgents chose a son of Karageorge for their prince. The Obrenowiches returned to power in 1859. Servia remained nominally dependent on the sultan until 1878. The Congress of Berlin declared its sovereignty. In 1882 the prince took the title of King of Servia. The Roumanians to the north of the Danube were divided into

[1] In 1818 Karageorge returned, and called the Servians to arms. Miloch demanded his head of the host who had received the fugitive, and sent it to the sultan.

two principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia. This country was inhabited by Christians; some were peasants, the others were boyars (proprietors). For a long time they had had national princes, the hospodars, but since the seventeenth century the sultan had been sending Greeks from Constantinople to be hospodars, recalling them at his pleasure. In 1774 the Russian government announced that it had taken the Roumanians under its protection, and compelled the sultan to have the hospodars elected by the boyars (1784), then to fix the tribute that they owed him (1783), then to let them serve for seven years (1802). From 1808 to 1812 the Russians occupied the whole of Roumania. They evacuated it in 1812, but kept a portion called Bessarabia. The occupation again began with the war of 1828 and lasted until 1835. Russia had all the Turkish fortresses levelled. In 1856 the Congress of Paris replaced the protectorate of Russia by a commission from the European states. It increased the area of Moldavia by adding a territory to the north of the Danube, but it refused to unite the two territories into a single state, notwithstanding the insistence of the Roumanians, who had the support of Napoleon III.

Each of the two principalities was to have a national council (Divan) and an elected prince. The Wallachians waited until the Moldavians had chosen their prince, then they elected the same one (the Roumanian Couza); then the two Divans united in one body at Bucharest (1862). After the abdication of Couza (1866) the single principality of Roumania was formed with a constitutional government under a foreign prince, Charles of Hohenzollern. Independence was declared in 1878 and the title of kingdom was adopted in 1881.

The Bulgarians had remained a nation of Slav peasants; they were Christians, but their priests and bishops were Greeks, and labored to suppress the Bulgarian tongue. For a long time the Bulgarians were counted in with the Greeks. The Russians, when they invaded the country in 1828, were much astonished to find there a people speaking the Slav language. This invasion taught the Bulgarians that they were a nation. They would no longer obey the Greek clergy. In 1870 they obtained from the sultan permission to have an independent Bulgarian church, separate from the Greek Church of Constantinople. The war of 1877 at once freed Bulgaria. The czar demanded that she be made an independent state. The Congress of Berlin was less favorable to that project and cut Bulgaria into three pieces. The district in the north formed the principality of Bulgaria with a European prince and a national assembly, the Sobranje; the district in the south was organized into the self-governing province of Roumelia, with the officials named by the sultan; Macedonia was returned unconditionally to the empire.

The Bulgarians were not resigned to this arrangement. The people of Roumelia organized a militia and armed societies, and in 1885 they united with the principality of Bulgaria in spite of the remonstrances of the sultan and of the European powers.

Thus the four Christian nations of Turkey have been delivered from the Turks—all, except the Servians, with the aid of Russia, who hoped to rule them; but all, once free, became independent states.

Egypt.—The domination of the sultan extended even into Africa. Egypt was the name of one province of the empire. In fact, it belonged to the chiefs of the Mame-

lukes, with whom Napoleon made war in 1798. England, unwilling to have Egypt in the power of France, conquered it and gave it to the sultan, who sent a Turkish governor there. An Albanian of the governor's suite, Mehemet Ali, aided by the ulemas (doctors of theology), succeeded in having himself appointed Pasha of Cairo; then he ordered a massacre of the Mamelukes and became the absolute master of Egypt. He declared himself the sole proprietor of the land, the Egyptian peasants (fellahs) were nothing more than the farmers. He transformed the agriculture of the country by introducing the cultivation of indigo, madder, the mulberry, and especially cotton. He organized an army on the European system; the soldiers were native Egyptians (fellahs), the officers were Turks, some of the superior officers were foreigners, mostly Frenchmen.

In recompense for the services of Mehemet Ali in lending him troops and a fleet to put down the rebellion in Greece (1825–1828), the sultan granted to his family hereditary rights. Henceforth Egypt was independent of the government at Constantinople, and was governed by the family of Mehemet Ali. Yet apparently the ruler of Egypt continued to obey the sultan, who is the chief of all orthodox Mussulmans. In 1829 the English government made a proposal to Mehemet Ali to recognize the dynasty as independent. Mehemet answered the envoy: "You are a foreigner and do not know how to think as a Mussulman. But who gave you the authority to insult me in my own house? Do you know what would be the result for me if such a thing came to pass? Every Mussulman would hold himself aloof from me, even my own son. The sultan is mad, but God has set him over us,

to punish us for our sins." In the two campaigns against the Turkish troops Mehemet ever declared his fidelity to the sultan. The successors of Mehemet occupied the same position, they continued to send tribute to the sultan, and to bear only the title of pasha. One of them, Ismail Pasha, entered into an agreement with a Frenchman, M. de Lesseps, in order to make a canal through the Isthmus of Suez (1856–1866). For a long time there was a belief that the work would not succeed. At that time the sultan showed himself well disposed toward Ismail. He let him change the order of succession (until that time the oldest relative inherited the sovereignty, which was according to Turkish usage; now the eldest son was made the heir). He permitted him to take the title of khedive (that is to say sovereign), and to send diplomatic agents to the European governments. Egypt thus became a state. In 1869, when the Suez Canal was finished, the khedive himself, accompanied by his prime minister, Nubar Pasha, went to Europe to invite the sovereigns to take part in the inauguration. The Turkish government, displeased, tried to bring him back into subjection. It ordered him to deliver up 200,000 guns, to reduce his army to 30,000 men, to send his budget to Constantinople, to demand the consent of the sultan when he wished to make a loan. And the order of the sultan was to be read in public throughout all Egypt. The English government sustained these orders; the khedive finally obeyed, but the order was read in Turkish, so that none of his subjects understood it. Then he set to work to appease the sultan. In 1871 he obtained permission to reform his administration, and also obtained a confirmation of his privileges.

He turned to France and England, his two commercial allies, for help in carrying out these reforms. In 1875 the judiciary was reformed by creating tribunals whose judges were Europeans, and a commission composed of Europeans drew up new codes of law. In 1876 a Franco-English administration was created for the purpose of guaranteeing the payment of the national debt. After that time France and England became more powerful in Egypt than the sultan, and since the withdrawal of France, England has had full control of affairs in Egypt.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW WORLD

The United States.—The government of the United States was organized in 1789. The constitution was a compromise between the two parties—the Federalists, who wanted a Federal government strong enough to control the states, and the Republicans, who wanted to give sovereign power to each state. It was also a compromise between the Northern states, inhabited by the whites who cultivated their own lands, and the Southern states, where the planters owned large estates worked by negro slaves.[1] Each party had made some concessions. The Federal government was given the power to make war, peace, and treaties with other powers, to regulate the coinage and the commerce. All other authority was vested in the state governments.[2]

The organization of the Federal government was completed during the presidency of Washington (1789–1797). The Union took in charge all debts contracted during the war by the Congress or by the individual states. Thus a national debt was created. In order to pay the interest

[1] It is not correct to say that the Constitution was a compromise between Federalists and Republicans, between Northern and Southern states. The Constitution was made up of a series of compromises, but political parties grew rather out of the adoption and interpretation of the Constitution.—Ed.

[2] Powers of the state governments were more circumscribed. See Constitution, Article I., Section X.; and Article IV.—Ed.

and carry on the government a system of duties and excise tax was established. The Bank of the United States was also founded.

The territory of the United States was still confined to the area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Alleghany Mountains and consisted of thirteen states, but some states possessed wild lands extending to the Mississippi.[1] The Federal government regarded these lands as a field for colonization, destined to be peopled by the citizens of the Union, and to form new states. It secured possession of them and became proprietor of all the land between the states and the Mississippi, which by the Ordinance of 1787 was organized into a territory, which has been the model of all territorial establishment in the Union. The country was divided according to meridian and parallel lines into a certain number of territories.[2] To each territory the Union sent a governor,[3] who at first governed alone, but as soon as there was a population of 5,000,[4] the territorial legislature was elected, consisting of one house and a legislative council; a delegate, having the right of discussion without that of voting, was sent to represent the territory in Congress. The principle was to place the inhabitants of the territories as soon as possible in a position to govern themselves.

Therefore the United States was not confined to fixed

[1] New York ceded her claims to Western lands in 1781; Virginia gave up her claim to lands north of the Ohio River in 1784; Massachusetts in 1785. Connecticut ceded her claims to Congress in 1786, reserving a strip of land along the southern shore of Lake Erie, known as the Western Reserve.—Ed.

[2] Division into townships according to the rectangular survey is meant.—Ed.

[3] The Ordinance of 1787 provided for a governor appointed by Congress.—Ed.

[4] Five thousand free male inhabitants twenty-one years of age.—Ed.

boundaries, and could expand indefinitely. The country extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi began to be settled between 1787 and 1820.

Beyond the Mississippi was a waste of land which was a dependency of Louisiana. France had ceded it to Spain in 1763. Napoleon I. secured possession of it for the establishment of a great French colony. The Republican party, which came into power in 1800, did not desire to increase the territory of the United States. It believed that the republic could not last in a large state,[1] and feared to increase the power of the Federal government.

But it was necessary, above all, to avoid the neighborhood of so redoubtable a power as France. England had just declared war and Napoleon, feeling that he could not defend this new acquisition from the attacks of his powerful enemy, offered to sell the territory to the United States. The government decided to buy Louisiana (1803). The limits of the Union were carried to the Rocky Mountains, and the land thus annexed was soon settled and divided into territories. The United States, then, was bounded on the south and west by Mexico, which owned immense stretches of waste lands. Adventurers coming from the United States settled in Texas, proclaimed the independence of the country, and organized the Republic of Texas (1835), which they succeeded in having admitted to the Union in 1846.[2] The government of Mexico protested, and this was a pretext for declaring war.[3] The victorious American army entered Mexico, and forced the

[1] This was the doctrine of Montesquieu.

[2] Texas was admitted as a State in December, 1845.—Ed.

[3] Other pretexts were: the disputed boundary line between Texas and Mexico; and claims against Mexico for outrages against the persons and property of American citizens.—Ed.

Mexican government to cede to the United States all the land between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean (1848).[1] The territory of the United States then extended over all the territory from one ocean to the other.[2]

During this epoch the country had grown rich and populous. The duties on imported goods brought an ever-increasing revenue to the government. Not only was the interest paid on the national debt, but the debt itself was nearly all paid. Then came a time when the treasury received more money than it could use. It was not considered practicable to do away with the customs, as the duty was a protection to American industry. The Federal government proposed to use the surplus in works of public utility. Permission was granted to build a great highway from the Ohio River to the west, and to make the Erie Canal, which joined Lake Erie with the Ocean.[3] This system, which employed the revenue duties as a means of protection to the industries, and as a resource serving for public works, has remained in force in the United States and is called the American system.

During the War of Secession (1860–1865) it was again necessary to establish an income tax, to increase the duties, and to issue paper money. Even these resources did not suffice to cover the enormous expenses of the war. The Federal government had to borrow money. The debt, which in 1860 had gone down to $90,000,000, increased

[1] Fifteen million dollars was paid Mexico for New Mexico and California.

[2] Territory known as the Gadsden purchase was acquired in 1853. Alaska was added in 1867; Hawaiian Islands in 1898; Porto Rico and the Philippines in 1898; and Tutuila and other Samoan islands in 1899. —Ed.

[3] The Cumberland Road is here meant. The Erie Canal was built by the State of New York.—Ed.

to $2,800,000,000. But the war once ended, payment of the debt was begun, and in 1878 the forced circulation of paper money was abolished.[1]

Ever since the foundation of the Union the population has increased more rapidly than that of any other country in the world. The land was open to whoever wanted to occupy it. The Americans, accustomed from childhood to the idea of going afar, departed for the distant West. The most adventurous went hunting in the territories that were still occupied by the Indians: the others built themselves cabins of wood and became farmers.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century these colonists were almost all Americans. But the European countries, when the inhabitants began to feel the crowding together in certain districts or towns, started pouring into the United States a portion of their surplus population. The means of transportation had been perfected, and a service of steamships was organized for more rapid passage. The voyage from England to America lasted only about ten days.[2]

In 1820 hardly more than 20,000 immigrants arrived in a year in the United States; in 1842 the number had already passed 100,000. In 1847 the State of New York organized an emigrant commission, in order to encourage emigration from Europe and to aid the immigrants on their arrival. There were then 235,000 immigrants a year. In 1850 there were 300,000, in 1882 780,000 ar-

[1] By an act of 1875, Congress decided that it would resume specie payments, January 1, 1879, by redeeming, in gold, all of the United States notes that might be presented for redemption. The amount was reduced to $346,681,016 and Congress forbade any further reduction. —Ed.

[2] Prior to 1860, twelve days was the shortest time in which steamships crossed the Atlantic.—Ed.

rived.[1] In sixty years, from 1821 to 1881, 11,200,000 immigrants settled in the United States, among them 3,500,000 Germans, 6,000,000 Irish, and 2,000,000 English.

The immigrants came especially from the northern countries[2] that were poorer or more thickly populated—Germans, Norwegians, Irish, English. The Irish fled from misery. In the years of the great famine brought on by disease in the potato (1847–1853), Ireland lost nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants.

Thanks to this emigration the United States was settled with a rapidity without a parallel in the history of the world. In 1820 there were only 5,000,000 inhabitants. Seventy years after, in 1890, there were 63,000,000. In 1820 the Far West, the country west of the Mississippi, was still a wildernesss overrun by pillaging Indians. To-day the Indians are destroyed or driven back into some of the territories; the whites have taken possession of the whole country extending from ocean to ocean. In the new countries European civilization has been all at once introduced. The striking characteristic of American colonization is that it proceeds in an inverse order from the old countries of Europe. Through an absolutely wild region a railway was constructed. (The line of the Union Pacific Railroad, was opened in 1869. It crossed in half of its course only vast prairies and solitary mountains. In the first years it was necessary to guard the trains from the attacks of the Indians of the prairies.) On the passage of the railway each station became a town, telegraph and printing offices were installed, and newspapers were published before even the houses were

[1] The number in 1905 was over 1,000,000.—Ed.

[2] During recent years the majority of the immigrants have come from the nations in Southern Europe.—Ed.

finished. San Francisco, which did not exist in 1846, had 250,000 inhabitants in 1880.[1] The country was not settled until some time after the towns were built. The agriculturists of America do not at all resemble our peasants. They use machines and exploit their lands after the fashion of a great factory. As the land had no value, the state, which had taken possession of it, sold it in large lots at a low price, often at the rate of one dollar an acre.[2] In France, where an acre is worth from two hundred to four hundred dollars, a property of one hundred acres is regarded as a large estate. In the United States such domains often include thousands of acres.

A few figures will serve to show the material progress of the United States. In 1790 there were in the whole Union only four cities of more than 10,000 souls; the largest, Philadelphia, had 42,000,[3] and the population of the towns formed three per cent. of the whole population. In 1880 there were 963 towns. More than thirty[4] of these had more than 100,000 inhabitants; New York had 600,000,[5] and the population of the towns made up twenty-five per cent.

In 1790 the foreign commerce was valued at $23,000,000 exports, and $20,000,000 imports. In 1880 the imports were $650,000,000, the exports $700,000,000.

[1] It should be noted that the development of San Francisco has been due to the discovery of gold in California. The population of this city in 1900 was 342,782.—Ed.

[2] The general government controlled the public lands and sold them to the settlers.—Ed.

[3] There were five cities, in 1790, having a population of over 10,000. These were: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston and Baltimore.—Ed.

[4] In 1900, there were thirty-eight cities each with a population exceeding 100,000.—Ed.

[5] The population of New York City in 1900 was 3,437,200.—Ed.

The Spanish Republics of America.—The Spanish government had continued, from the sixteenth century, to treat its colonies as domains, and to have them governed by Spaniards. The creoles, that is, the people born in the colonies, were set aside from all functions and commerical relations. They were forbidden to buy merchandise from any but Spanish traders. When Spain was invaded by a French army in 1808 the creoles resolved to side, as did the European Spaniards, with Ferdinand VII., and refused to recognize as king the French usurper, Joseph Bonaparte. But they profited by the opportunity to demand reforms. About 1808 the inhabitants of Caracas, in Venezuela, published their manifesto. They demanded equal rights for the creoles, that they should be given the liberty to cultivate lands, to manufacture, to import, and to export, as did the Spaniards; that one-half of the offices in the colonies should be reserved for them; that there should be, in each capital of the vice-royalty, a representative assembly (junta) to control the government.

The Spanish governors in the colonies refused their consent, the colonies revolted and organized republics after the fashion of the United States.

The war was long, the insurgents ill-equipped and ill-disciplined. After the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne of Spain they were conquered, and almost completely subdued in 1816. But the revolution in Spain (1820–1823) restored their courage. One by one all the colonies finally forced the King of Spain to grant them independence. (Spain kept only Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.)

The enfranchised colonies sought at first to group them-

selves into confederations, as the English colonies had done, but the inhabitants, of whom a majority were Indians or of mixed blood, had had no experience in governing; more than that, from province to province they detested each other.

During the term of Spanish rule there had been five vice-royalties: Mexico in Mexico, Lima in Peru, Santa Fé in Colombia, Buenos Ayres in Argentina, and three captaincies general: Guatemala in Central America, Caracas in Venezuela, and Valparaiso in Chile. The states founded after the insurrection corresponded almost exactly to the seven Spanish provinces. However, Paraguay, chiefly inhabited by Indians, whom the Jesuits had organized, had formed an independent state. Venezuela had been added to the vice-royalty of Sante Fé in order to form the Republic of Colombia, under the presidency of General Bolivar, who was also governor of Peru, and of a state created by him and called Bolivia.[1]

But most of the states were in pieces, the inhabitants of the distant regions would not obey those of the capital, Uruguay separated from Buenos Ayres and established the Eastern Republic of Uruguay (1828). Peru and Bolivia revolted against the power of Bolivar and formed two separate republics. The United States of Colombia was broken up into three parts: New Grenada, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Central America revolted, first against Mexico (1823) in order to organize the United States of Central America, then the five states which composed this confederation, after a long contest, finally separated in 1847.

[1] Bolivar even tried to unite in one confederation all the states of Spanish America. He called a general Congress at Panama. But the only delegates were from the countries which he ruled and from Mexico.

There are to-day fifteen Hispano-American Republics. The new states had passed through a long series of revolutions and civil wars before they arrived at the point of becoming an organized government. The country was almost a wilderness, the Spaniards had come there only in search of wealth, or to lead the life of great lords, without doing any work, so there was hardly anything but provincial capitals and the residences of large proprietors, separated by immense desert wastes. There was no manufacturing and very little cultivation of the soil. A large part of the population was composed of Indians, negroes, almost savage mestizos, and all miserable and totally ignorant. The whites themselves were hardly civilized. They had been rendered more savage by the ferocious war against the Spaniards.

Almost everywhere there were two parties. The Conservatives, who had on their side the large proprietors and the clergy, wanted to reserve the offices for the men of the great families, to establish limited suffrage, to maintain Catholicism as the state religion, leaving to the clergy their domains, tribunals, and privileges, and withholding these from all other faiths to preserve the censorship and to keep away the foreigner. The Liberals, or Progressivists, which were recruited chiefly from the commercial classes and the half-breeds, demanded the abolition of slavery, universal suffrage, religious liberty, the confiscation of church property held by the clergy, and favored the immigration of foreigners.[1]

They were also divided into Centralists and Federalists. The Centralists wanted, in imitation of European coun-

[1] In certain countries the parties were designated by surnames. In Mexico, the Conservatives were called Escoseses; in Chile Pelucones (Perukes). The Liberals in Mexico were called Yorkinos.

tries, to have a single government established at the capital, which should send out prefects to administer justice in the provinces. The Federalists wanted a régime copied after that of the United States, the provinces organized as almost sovereign states, bound together by a Federal government.

In general, the Conservatives have been Centralists and the Liberals have been Federalists, save in the provinces of Central America.

But the struggles of the parties served chiefly as a pretext for personal quarrels and the conflicts of rival cities. The large majority of the inhabitants, Indians, negroes, mestizos, wholly incapable of comprehending any political questions, could be attached to only the party leaders. Now the war had left many ambitious leaders without an occupation, and they had acquired the habit of forming armies, enrolling by force the inhabitants. They lacked the elements required to carry on political contests, but those necessary for civil wars were not wanting. To the civil wars were added wars with neighboring states for the settlement of their frontiers.

Therefore, for more than half a century to be at war has been the habitual condition of the Spanish republics. But it would be unjust to say, as is often done, that these states are incapable of governing themselves, because they have in the nineteenth century served the apprenticeship to political liberty which the European countries served in past centuries.[1] Their apprenticeship has been neither so long nor so bloody as was that of England or of France; it has even been less so.

[1] It is remarkable that the states which have made the least progress, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Bolivia, are those which have been least disturbed by civil wars.

Since 1870 the civil wars have been less frequent, and the wars between the several states have almost ceased. Nearly everywhere the Progressivists have triumphed over the Conservatives, and the Federalists over the Progressivists. Almost all the states have been organized into a Union, with a Congress composed of two houses, and a president elected for a term of several years, as in the states of North America. All have freed the negroes, nearly all have established universal suffrage and freedom in public worship. All have been opened to immigration from Europe, and Europeans have been called on to exploit the lands and the mines.

Emigration has been especially active in the last twenty years. The current has turned chiefly in the direction of Argentina, which has a cooler and healthier climate, for Europeans. More than 100,000 immigrants are landed yearly at Buenos Ayres. They nearly all come from the Latin countries—Italy, France (the Basque country), and Spain. They settle on those vast plains (pampas), where are raised enormous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. The soil, formed of a thick layer of the decaying grasses, needs no enriching in order to make it produce large harvests of grain. The colonist has only to plow and sow, he does not need to use any fertilizers, and when the time of harvest arrives the contractors, who go about the country with their machines, take charge of the reaping and threshing of the wheat.

The other Spanish republics, situated in the warmer climates, attract fewer immigrants, but European capital is drawn there and serves to build the railways, to open mines, and to settle plantations.

According as the population has increased the produc-

tion has grown in volume. It is almost entirely agricultural and mineral—wheat, leather, meats, tropical products (coffee, cacao, tobacco, cotton, cinchona), metals and guano. These articles are brought to the seaports from which they are sent to Europe. Europe furnishes in exchange almost all the manufactured articles, for home industry is still insufficient for the consumption.

With wealth, there has come order in the public finances. Until recent years the Spanish Republics (except Chile) always had a deficit in the budget and could not usually pay the interest on their debt; therefore they had no credit in Europe. To-day confidence has returned and the states which need money find that they can borrow it in Europe.

The Spanish states of South America begin to enter the path of industry and of material prosperity where the English states of North America have preceded them.

Brazil.—The only country in South America which did not belong to the Spaniards, Brazil, became an independent state, at about the same time as the Spanish colonies, but with much less effort. At the period of the French invasion (1808) the royal family of Portugal had withdrawn to Brazil (the most important Portuguese colony). It remained there even after the departure of the French. The Portuguese were not content to be governed by a sovereign who lived in America, and finally revolted (1820). The king resigned to return to Lisbon, leaving his son Pedro to act as regent in Brazil.

The Cortes of Portugal soon wanted to compel Pedro to return. He convoked a National Constituent Assembly, which declared Brazil independent, and proclaimed the regent Emperor of Brazil (1822). The Portuguese fleet was sent away.

Brazil, raised to the dignity of an independent monarchy, was organized after the constitutional monarchy of France and England, with a Lower House elected by restricted suffrage, a Senate composed of the large landed proprietors, and a ministry chosen by the emperor

The difficulties to be encountered were the same as those found in the Spanish republics: a country too vast, a population chiefly composed of Indians, negroes, and mestizos, ignorant and without political experience.

Brazil was not exempt from civil wars. The government had to repress the revolts of the Republican party at Pernambuco and at Para, and also the revolts of the southern provinces. These wars were almost always as bloody and as long as those in the Republic of Argentina. Gradually manners grew more civilized, and since 1863 these conflicts have ceased.

The struggle between Liberals and Conservatives has continued. In 1880 the Constitution was revised, the Moderate Liberals came into power, and the privileges of the clergy were suppressed. In 1889 the Republican party suddenly overthrew the Imperial government and transformed Brazil into a republic.

Brazil possesses an immense territory, the whole basin of the Amazon River, and the sea-coast from Guiana down to Uruguay. The larger part is inhabitable for Europeans. It is a great wilderness of marshy, forest covered lands, overrun by savage tribes. The only part now settled is that which extends along the coast of the Atlantic on the east. To the north is a tropical region, a country of large plantations for the cultivation of coffee and tobacco. The work is done chiefly by negroes. To the south the climate is more temperate, like that of the Re-

public of Argentina, and the region is suited to receive European colonists. Emigration has turned in that direction.

The Abolition of Slavery in America.—All the European nations which had colonies in America had introduced negroes, which had been purchased in Africa, for the cultivation of the large plantations of coffee, sugar-cane, and cotton.[1] Slavery was, therefore, an institution common to all the American colonies, which were situated in the warm regions of the continent. It was conceded that none but blacks could labor on the plantations and they only as slaves

The first protest against slavery came from France during the Revolution. The Constituent Assembly had declared the freedom of the blacks without being willing to accord any indemnity to the slave-owners. The negroes revolted, and those in Hayti massacred the white planters.

Napoleon restored slavery, without which, it was said, the colonies could not exist. All the other states had preserved it. Some, through humanity, had suppressed the slave trade. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, decided to prohibit it through an agreement among all the civilized nations. France and England sent cruisers along the African coast in order to seize the slave ships. The sailors of these ships were to be treated as pirates and hung.

But in America the negroes remained slaves, they and their families. They continued to be sold and the law obliged private individuals to return fugitive slaves to their masters. For thirty years there was an agitation in Europe, aroused either through democratic sentiment

[1] There was little cotton raised in America before the invention of the cotton-gin in 1794. Tobacco was one of the chief products.

or through a feeling of Christian charity, for the purpose of securing the abolition of slavery. Sweden abolished it in 1847; France in 1848; the other states followed their example.[1]

In the United States this abolition was complicated by a civil war. When the colonies had been gathered into one nation, in 1789, the Southern states, inhabited by planters, had exacted that the Constitution should guarantee to them the security of their "peculiar institution," as they called slavery. They did not dare, after the declaration of 1776, which had proclaimed the natural right of man to liberty, to employ the word slave, so it was replaced by a circumlocution: "person held for labor or for service." They were not willing to abolish the slave-trade, which continued until 1808. The American statesmen at that time counted upon the disappearance of slavery through the gradual extinction of the negro families. But in 1793 Whitney invented a machine to gin cotton, with which a good worker could clean 350 pounds a day. The production of cotton became more lucrative. The states in the extreme south (Georgia and the Carolinas), where there were large plantations of cotton, needed a great many negroes. The neighboring states, Maryland and Virginia, whose climate was not warm enough for cotton raising, began to raise negroes to be sold to the cotton planters. The number of slaves, instead of diminishing, went on increasing. From 700,000 in 1790 the number in 1820 amounted to 1,500,000.

In the Northern states the slaves gradually disappeared (a few were still there as late as 1840). Thus the North became the land of liberty, where slavery was finally

[1] Great Britain abolished slavery in 1833.—Ed.

abolished. In Louisiana slavery had existed even under French rule. But when the colonization extended beyond the Mississippi the question of slavery came up for solution. The territory of Missouri, settled by slave-owners, demanded admission as a state. The House of Representatives wanted to insert the condition that slavery should be forbidden there; the Senate refused. At last came the Missouri Compromise. Missouri was admitted as a state (1820) and it was decided that slavery should be forbidden in the new territories north of the parallel 36° 30′. The Union was divided into two geographical divisions—the free North, and the slave South.

The population in the South was less in numbers, but the Southerners, took care that there should always be an equal number of free and slave states, each state having two senators. The South did not risk falling into the minority. The representatives from the South, acting in common to maintain slavery, faced a divided North. The Democrats in the North sustained them in return for their support in other matters. All worked in concert to stifle the question of slavery.

But toward 1833 some individuals began to be indignant and to demand in the name of the Christian religion and of humanity that slavery should be abolished. They formed a society for the abolition of slavery, which published documents, held conferences, and sought to found negro schools. These societies increased in the towns, especially among the Quakers. The governments persecuted them at first as enemies of the law. But as the number of immigrants increased the Abolitionist party grew larger for these people were not accustomed to slavery in Europe.

California was admitted into the Union, and this placed the slave states in the minority But in exchange the anti-abolitionists had secured the passage of a law which compelled every inhabitant of the United States to deliver up fugitive slaves to their masters (1850).

The Abolitionists profited by the growing indignation against slave traders and hunters. Ministers especially began to preach against slavery as contrary to humanity and religion. Then appeared "Uncle Tom's Cabin," where, in the guise of a romance, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe described the miserable condition of the negroes and the demoralization produced by slavery in both master and slave. The book had a rapid and brilliant success. A new party was formed (1854) in the Northern states. It took the name Republican, and openly attacked slavery. In 1860 this party, owing to a division in the Democratic party, was able to elect its candidate, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

The Southern states were not resigned to the loss of a power which had been theirs ever since the organization of the Union. They decided to withdraw from the Union and to form a confederation of their own. War was declared. At first it was only a question of constitutional rights—the government only wanted to force the Southern states to return to the Union. The abolition of slavery was not even spoken of. But the war forced the settlement of the question. At first the negroes, who had been taken prisoners, were set free. Then the president declared that all negroes[1] should be free on and after January 1, 1863. Finally slavery was abolished by act of Congress in 1865.[2]

[1] In those states in rebellion.—ED.

[2] The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which became a part of the Constitution, December, 1865, abolished slavery.—ED.

Later Congress decided that the negroes should have the same political rights as the white citizens.[1]

Slavery no longer existed except in one Christian state, Brazil. The emperor began by freeing all newly-born negroes; then all the others were given their freedom.

The Monroe Doctrine.—When the Spanish colonies became independent states the United States was the first government to recognize them. The great European powers which belonged to the Holy Alliance proposed intervention in America in order to combat the ideas of the revolting Spanish republics.

The statesmen of the Union had set forth the principle that no European state was to mingle in the affairs of the American states.

The President of the United States, Monroe, agreeing with the English government, profited by a negotiation with Russia to make the declaration of 1823. It is there declared: "that the American continents, in relation to the independent situation which they have taken and maintained, should not be regarded henceforth as a territory for colonization by any European power. We have never," added the president, "taken part in the wars of the European powers; this would be irreconcilable with our policy. But we would regard every attempt on their part, to extend their power in any portion whatever of this hemisphere, as a menace to our peace and security."

This was called the Monroe doctrine, and thus was formulated the doctrine: "America for the Americans."

The Europeans have no possessions in America, except

[1] The Fourteenth Amendment.

Canada, the Guianas, and the Islands of the Antilles. Through all the remainder of the two American continents, the descendants of the colonists who had come from Europe form to-day independent peoples.

CHAPTER XV

THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

France in Africa.—France had, in the eighteenth century, lost almost all her colonial settlements. Nothing remained to her but the Island of Reunion, St. Louis and Gorea in Africa, several small islands of the Antilles, two islets, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, and Guiana in America, and the five trading-stations in India, which the English had left in their hands. Napoleon, who greatly desired that France should occupy the position of a great colonial power, was prevented in his efforts by the contest with England. The Restoration did not concern itself with colonial affairs. But since 1830 all of the French governments have labored to build up a colonial empire. In Oceania they have occupied New Caledonia, the islands of Tahiti, and several adjacent archipelagoes, and in Asia a large part of Indo-China.[1] Africa, especially, has been the object of the colonization schemes of France. In 1815 she had then only a few widely scattered settlements: Saint Louis, the Island of Gorea, and some stations along the Gaboon, on the west coast, and Reunion Island on the east coast. She has acquired three vast territories in it: Algeria and Tunis on the northern coast, Senegal and the Soudan, the Congo, and the Gaboon

[1] France has not considered the establishment of colonies in America, since the old English, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies have been constituted independent states, and since they have declared that America was not the soil for colonization by Europeans.

country on the western coast, and the large island of Madagascar.

The occupation began in the north, in Algeria. The country had been inhabited by three different races, one after the other. The Kabyles, descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Africa in the Roman times, had become Mussulman, but had preserved their ancient language[1] and customs. They were peasants, settled on the lands which they tilled, but they were warlike peasants, who bore arms and dwelt in the fortified towns on the summits of the mountains. They were especially numerous in the fastnesses of the Atlas range.

The Arabs, coming from Egypt in the eleventh century, had remained a race of nomadic shepherds, living in tents. They were divided into tribes, which obeyed chiefs called "sheiks." They, too, went armed, and there was continual war between the tribes over the thefts of flocks which went on among them. The Arabs generally occupied the plains in front of and the table-lands behind the Atlas Mountains.

The Turks, who had come in the sixteenth century, did not form a nation. They were soldiers and pirates, and settled in the towns, especially along the sea-coast. Their chiefs bore Turkish titles (bey and dey), and were supposed to govern in the name of the Sultan of Constantinople. In fact, they reigned like sovereigns, but they could not compel either Kabyles or Arabs to obedience.

Besides these three war-like peoples there was a peaceable and industrious population in the towns. These were Jews, and mestizos of every race, which were called Moors. Neither Jews nor Moors were warlike.

[1] The people who speak that tongue are called Berbers.

France conquered successively the three warlike races: the Turks between 1830 and 1836 (the last episode was the taking of Constantine), the Arabs between 1837 and 1847 (the resistance was led by the Emir Abd-el-Kader, whom the French government had strengthened by officially recognizing him as chief of the Arabs), the Kabyles between 1844 and 1871 (the conflict was ended in 1852, and after that time there were only insurrections).

These twenty years of combats put France in possession of a territory of 300,000 square kilometres, not including 100,000 square kilometres in the desert of Sahara. Among the former Kabyle and Arab races European colonists had settled They numbered in 1881 a population of 420,000 souls. Half of them, at least, were French, or descendants of the French, who had almost all come from the south. Some were naturalized foreigners[1] the others were Italians, Spaniards and Maltese. (To this must be added 50,000 Algerian Jews, who had been declared French in 1870.) The natives numbered 3,260,000 souls. The country has been divided into two parts. The region where the colonists have settled forms the civil territory, divided into three departments, organized as in France, and with the same kind of functionaries. The inhabitants elect deputies to the Chamber and to the Senate. The majority of the natives live within this civil territory also, but they have preserved their own religion and laws of their tribal chiefs, and are not French citizens.

The part of the country inhabited by natives only, especially the region of the Sahara, forms a military department, which has continued the military organization.

[1] After 1870 an effort was made to establish Alsatian colonies in Algeria. It was unsuccessful.

The French officers being at the same time in military command and civil administrators, they dispense justice and keep order among the natives.

The colonists have acquired a large part of the fertile lands, confiscated or bought from the natives, and have put them in cultivation. The Kabyles, who were already agriculturalists, have increased their production. Algeria has, above all, a fine soil for grain. In 1887 almost 15,000,000 quintals of wheat and barley were harvested in that region. It also produces the fruits native to the tropics. In 1887 it supplied to the market 160,000 hectolitres of olive oil. The orange, date-palm, and sugar-cane are also cultivated.

During the last few years three new sources of revenue have been opened. On the coast, vegetables are raised for the French markets. They ripen much earlier there than do those in France. On the interior plateaux a wild plant, alfa, is raised for the purpose of making paper. In 1887 2,200,000 quintals were sent to market. In the intermediate region grapes in abundance are raised. In 1886, 70,000 hectares were in bearing vineyards, and in 1888 there were 88,000 hectares; 1,569,000 hectolitres of wine were made in 1886, and in 1888, 2,728,000 hectolitres.

In 1887 the commerce of Algeria included 211,000,000 francs imports, and 186,000,000 francs exports. It is estimated that from 1830 to 1888 Algeria had cost France 5,000,000,000 francs and brought in only 1,250,000,000 francs. But we must take into account that 3,400,000,000 francs were absorbed in military expeditions. From this time the receipts increase more rapidly than the expenditures, and the value of property in Algeria is estimated at

more than 3,000,000,000 francs. On both sides of Algeria independent Mussulman states had remained. Morocco on the west and Tunis on the east. France did not try to occupy Morocco, even after her victory over the sultan, who had been an ally of Abd-el-Kader in 1844. In regard to Tunis, she was content to force the bey to give up piracy in the Mediterranean.

The Bey of Tunis had tried to introduce European customs into his country. He had only succeeded in getting some French engineers to build some public works, and in borrowing money from Europe, which led him into bankruptcy in 1869. Tunis was left in such disorder that her resources could not be utilized.

In 1881 the French government took advantage of a violation of the Algerian boundary lines, and sent a small army into Tunis. The bey without opposition agreed to put his territory under French protection. He has kept his title, his palace, and his revenues. France took it upon herself to make all the reforms in the administration, judiciary and finances. She was given the right to place garrisons wherever they were thought to be necessary, and she took entire charge of the foreign relations. A special administration composed of Frenchmen was created. They reorganized the finances in a few years, lessening the taxes, and reducing the expenses.

The natives have retained their laws, usages, and possessions. But the security established by a systematic administration has drawn many Europeans to the country, who began to settle there, not only for the purpose of trade, but to exploit the soil. There are now in Tunis 40,000 Europeans, of whom 15,000 are French.

Tunis contains from 130,000 to 150,000 square kilo-

metres (one-fourth the size of France). It is more fertile than Algeria. Formerly it was considered the granary of Rome, and now vineyards have been planted which produce abundantly. The commerce, which in 1880, only amounted to 12,000,000 francs of imports, and 11,000,000 francs of exports, had reached, in 1888, the sum of 31,000,000 francs of imports and 19,000,000 francs of exports.

This occupation has cost France about 300,000,000 francs, and the expense of the protectorate diminishes yearly.

France, mistress of Algeria and Tunis, rules in northern Africa.

On the west coast until 1854 France had only the trading-posts of Saint-Louis, and the island of Gorea, where some French merchants, protected by French troops, carried on a commerce with the natives. The country to the north of the Senegal belonged to a warlike race of Mussulmans, the Toucouleurs,[1] who exacted tribute from the vessels which navigated that stream. The country to the south of the Senegal was inhabited by pagan negroes, who were governed by kings of their own race.

Since 1854, the French governors have labored to bring about a recognition of French authority on both shores of the Senegal. With the negro kings on the south bank they proceeded in a peaceful manner; by presents and by military demonstrations they have obtained successive treaties which have given to France the right to trade, and to establish military posts throughout the region, not only on the shores of the Senegal, but in the country of the "southern rivers."

[1] A mixed race of Mestizos, and negroes, or Moors.—Ed.

It was necessary to use force with the Toucouleurs on the northern bank. The French troops advanced along the river, building small fortresses as they progressed. Around these gathered the peaceable population. The Toucouleurs have come and attacked these fortresses, but have always been repulsed, and their empire has crumbled away. These wars have been carried on by the garrisons, and by expeditionary corps composed of a few hundreds of soldiers. Only a part of these corps was made up of Frenchmen, the other was composed of natives commanded by French officers.

Arriving at the headwaters of the Senegal the French followed the caravan route to the Upper Niger, and have thus reached the Soudan.

The Soudan is an immense region, which occupies all of central Africa from the Upper Niger to the Upper Nile. A large part of it is a wilderness and probably sterile. But in spite of the continual wars, which destroy the villages and of the expeditions of the slave merchants which carry off the inhabitants, there still remains in the Soudan a population sufficiently large to constitute an important market. The Europeans have sought to penetrate this wilderness in order to find an outlet for their merchandise, especially woven stuffs and hardware, which they exchange for the produce of the country, ivory, gold-dust, gums, and cereals. In order to reach the Soudan the French had the choice of two routes, that by way of Algiers, which crosses the Sahara and ends at Timbuctoo, or that of the Senegal which descends along the Niger. Two railway lines have been projected, the Trans-Saharan which starts from Algiers and the Niger railway which unites the Niger with the Senegal. After the massacre of the

Flatters mission which was sent into the Sahara (1888), the Trans-Saharan line was abandoned. The work has been begun at Senegal and 264 kilometres have been built, but the operation has been much more costly than was anticipated.

In all the countries with which treaties have been made, France has established military posts, with small garrisons. This line of posts has been completed to the sources of the Senegal. In 1883, Bamakon on the Niger was occupied, and the descent of that stream was begun.

There are very few French in Senegal, the climate is too warm. But the natives have soon grown accustomed to considering themselves French subjects, and the commerce of the country has grown rapidly. It amounts to about 40,000,000 francs a year.[1]

To the south of the equator a small French trading-post at the entrance of the Gaboon has served as a point of departure for expeditions which have gone up the Ogooué (1873–1878), ending at last in the Congo. Savorgnan de Brazza has, in the name of France, taken possession of a territory 670,000 square kilometres in extent, whose limits were fixed by the Congress of Berlin in 1885–1886. This region, larger than France, is as yet peopled only with the native races. But the climate is less unhealthy than that of Senegal, and some settlements have already been made, one at the source of the Ogooué, the other on the right bank of the Congo, at Brazzaville (opposite Leopoldville, chief city of the Congo Free State, founded on the other side of the river by Stanley, at the expense of the King of Belgium).

[1] The French settlements on the Guinea coast are only small trading-posts. They had even been abandoned by the government, because they were unhealthy and too costly.

On the east coast of Africa France had tried during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to get possession of the large island of Madagascar; she had given it up and retained only the small islands and Reunion Island, which had formerly been very rich owing to the large plantations of coffee and sugar-cane. To-day it is half ruined, because of the exhaustion of the soil. She tried to exercise an influence over the nation of the Hovas, who have founded a sort of military empire in Madagascar. Many treaties in regard to a protectorate were concluded, but the teachings of the English missionaries, who have converted the Hovas kings to Christianity, have from the first outweighed the French influence. The French government began by obliging the Hovas to accept the treaty of 1885, which ceded to France the port of Diego-Suarez, and gave her the right to have a French official resident at the capital of Madagascar. Finally, it was decided to send a military expedition to the centre of the island, which ended in the annexation of Madagascar (1898).

France has, therefore, the preponderance of power in four districts of Africa.

Progress in Asia of the Rival European Powers.—Asia has continually been encroached upon by the European powers. Russia came from the north and west; from Siberia which she has occupied ever since the end of the sixteenth century, and from the Caucasus country which she had gained possession of between 1799 and 1859.

England came from the south; she began by Bengal in 1757, and completed the conquest of India in 1857.

France, the last comer, established herself in the south-east, in Indo-China (1862).

This was the least important of the three domains, but

has grown rapidly. The occupation began in 1862. The Emperor of Annam, who had permitted the massacre of French missionaries, was forced to cede three provinces, of which French Cochin-China was formed. It has been increased since 1867 by three new provinces. To-day there are nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants, and the commerce is rated at 123,000,000 francs a year. The budget has increased from 8,000,000 francs in 1868 to 30,000,000 francs in 1888. The country is indeed somewhat unhealthy, except in the mountainous regions, but it is fertile, and very productive, especially in rice.

Since 1863 France has had a protectorate in the petty kingdom of Cambodia; and since the war in Tonquin, over the empire of Annam, itself (1883), Tonquin, a province of Annam, having become in fact independent, was twice conquered by the French. Since 1882 it has been governed by a French administration.

France has thus occupied, more or less openly, all of the eastern part of Indo-China. In the west England has outstripped her since 1824. The kingdom of Burmah became an English province. France and England are still separated by the independent empire of Siam. South of Indo-China, England has taken possession of two important points, Malacca (1826), Singapore (1836). The domain of India stretches from the Himalayas to Ceylon, a territory which contains more than 250,000,000 souls. The East India Company, which in a century (1757–1857) had conquered this vast empire from the petty military despots, had continued to govern despotically without consulting the natives. The English government, after the great revolt of the Sepoys, took the place of the company (1860), and since that time has taken

charge of all Indian affairs. This régime procures peace for a country that has never known it. It permits the population to work, to grow rich, and to increase in numbers.

The Hindoos, in religion and customs, are very different from the English, who govern them. But throughout Northern India, the Brahmins, who form the superior classes, are an Aryan race. They have preserved in the physical type and the trend of thought a resemblance to the Europeans which recalls their common origin.

The first English governors, full of respect for the old Hindoo civilization, did not seek to introduce the ideas and the languages of Europe. But in 1836, at the suggestion of Macaulay, the government came to a decision fraught with great consequences. It was resolved that English should be taught in the Indian schools, together with the native tongue.[1]

The telegraph and the Suez Canal have made communication much more easy between England and India. The commerce has become enormous, the two countries are closely bound together. For some years the Hindoos seem also to have been approaching the civilization of Europe. They learn English, and pursue the study of the classics. Books and journals are published in the Hindoo tongue. England has begun to allow the natives a share in the government. Several Hindoos are among the judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta.

Siberia has been the especial domain of Russia. It is an immense region, almost a wilderness, and in a great

[1] In India several languages derived from the Sanscrit are spoken: Bengali and Hindustani. They have replaced the Sanscrit, which has become a dead language, as the Latin has been replaced by French and Italian.

measure uninhabitable. To-day, although the Russian government deports there each year thousands of criminals, it has hardly more than 5,000,000 inhabitants. There is as yet very little known of the resources of southern Siberia. Until the present time scarcely anything but the mines have been exploited. There are great forests, and it seems as if the soil could be utilized were the population large enough to warrant cultivation.

The advance of Russia on the side of Siberia has been arrested by the icy wastes of Mongolia. The Russian territory has been increased by a territory as large as France, which lies south of the Amoor (1858). For several years Russia has been on the march towards China.[1]

In the west, Russia has pursued her way into Asia. There she has gone beyond the Caucasus, and approached Persia. She has also tried to extend her power into Turkestan. This country is ruled by nomad tribes of Turkish race. They were horsemen who lived on the produce of their brigandage and their herds. They went about in bands, attacking peaceable tillers of the soil in Persia, pillaging villages, and bringing back the inhabitants attached to the tails of their horses, for sale in the slave markets.

Russia tried at first to subdue them, coming in from the north, but the expedition sent against Khiva perished on the way (1841) and that route was abandoned.

It was by way of the Caspian Sea that Russia approached Turkestan. The Caspian was first bound to Russia by a line of railway, which was constructed from Poti on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian. From Baku the fleet transports soldiers and supplies to Krasnovosk

[1] This was checked in the war between Japan and Russia in 1905.—ED.

on the eastern shore of the Caspian. There begins a new railway, which was easily constructed on the level lands. The inhabitants were requisitioned by force to do the work, and the rails brought forward by trains as fast as the work advanced.

The Russian government had at the same time resumed its march by the north. As the army, composed chiefly of mounted Cossacks, gradually advanced, they built fortresses in the occupied country.

By degrees, the Russians, sometimes by negotiation with the chiefs of the tribes, sometimes by attacking their strong cities, first subdued the Kirghis in 1847, then conquered all of Turkestan (1864–1881). It was necessary to take the principal cities by assault. In 1873 three armies were converged against Khiva; one came from the Caucasus bearing its provisions across the desert. The last combat was the assault on the fortress of the Tekkés, the most redoubtable of all the Turcomans, through their depredations.

The war was brutal, but the Turcomans, once subdued, have not thought of revolt. The Russian government has left them their customs and their leaders; it has imposed upon them no other duty than the recognition of the czar as their sovereign, the abandonment of brigandage, and to come armed when they are summoned. It recompenses the chiefs, by presents, and by giving them an official rank. According as Russia advances to the south, she draws near the domain of England in India. Since 1834 the English have regarded this advance with alarm. and have considered the Russians as rivals. In order to prevent the Russians from touching their frontiers they have sought to make use of the warlike races of

Afghanistan who live to the north of the Himalayas, and who are able to guard the approaches to India. The Russian government made an alliance with the Shah of Persia, enemy of the Afghans. Then began a contest for influence between England and Russia. The Russian government urged the Shah of Persia to take Herat, the English officers defended Herat, and forced the Persians to retire. The English government took advantage of the dispute among the Afghan princes over the succession, and sent an army to occupy Afghanistan. But the Afghans, and Mussulmans would not tolerate the occupation of their country by Christian soldiers, and massacred the whole English army (1842). The English government then again made an alliance with the Ameer of Afghanistan, became master of the adjacent countries of Kandahar and Balkh, and aided the ameer to conquer Herat (1863). Notwithstanding a second war, and a second massacre of the English (1878–1879), England has continued to treat the Afghans as allies.

In 1884 the Turcoman tribes of Merv recognized the domination of the czar. Thus the Russians had reached Afghanistan, and the nomadic subjects of the czar and the ameer were already beginning to quarrel over the boundary of their respective territories. The English and Russian governments came to an agreement in order to avoid a war, and an Anglo-Russian Commission went to the scene of the troubles and regulated the limits of the frontier.

The English government, to avoid being at the mercy of its Afghan allies, has put in a defensible condition all the defiles of the Himalayas on the northwest frontier, which give access to Hindostan.

European Civilization in the Orient.—The Europeans have also tried to penetrate into the countries of the Far East, China and Japan. There they have encountered a civilization much older than their own.

The Chinese, more numerous than all the Europeans together, have been for centuries united in a single state, the Middle Kingdom. They number nearly 400,000,000 souls, having the same language, customs and government. They are a sober and industrious race, incomparable in the art of enabling many people to live in a small space. The population along the shores of the great streams of China is the most dense of any place in the world. The soil is cultivated with the greatest care, largely by hand labor. China resembles a vast market garden. The Chinese are clever and patient workmen. Their industry, even to-day, far surpasses that of the Occident where machines give the advantage to Europeans. Likewise, there are in China many large cities; forty-two have a population of more than 100,000, several have 1,000,000.

China has a regular government; the mandarins who administer affairs are learned men, and have been advanced from one rank to another through a system of competitive examinations. It was quite the fashion for the philosophers of the eighteenth century to admire this old Pacific empire, which had stood for 3,000 years, where agriculture was so honored that the emperor starts the first furrow with his own hand and with a solemn ceremonial.

When the two civilizations met face to face it was at first supposed that amicable relations would be established between them. But there seems to be an insurmountable antipathy between the Chinese and Europeans.

All that constitutes the true grandeur of European civilization, sciences, arts, religion, remains closed to the Chinese, or at least they understand these things in a quite different manner from our own. It appears, too, as if they scorned progress and preferred to adhere to the customs of their ancestors. They regarded the arrival of the Europeans with suspicion, considering them wicked barbarians and deceivers. The Europeans presented themselves as merchants and as soldiers. What the Chinese saw most clearly as evidences of our civilization were fire-arms, the instruments for massacre, and opium, with which the English merchants poisoned the Chinese smokers.

It was with regret that the consent of the Chinese government was given to open one or two ports to English vessels. In 1839 it ordered 20,000 cases of opium sent by the English merchants in India to be thrown into the sea. Other European nations obtained the same rights as the English, to extend their commerce. But the Chinese government continually put difficulties in the way of European commerce. The demands of the French and English governments having been repulsed, war was declared. A French expedition landed an army which marched on Pekin, destroyed the magnificent summer palace of the emperor, and forced the Chinese to re-establish commercial relations (1860).

Since that time nearly all the states of Europe have concluded treaties with the Chinese government, which have given them the right to trade in certain ports. There are, to-day, nineteen of these treaty ports in China. But the Chinese still refuse to adopt European customs. They have only decided to make use of railways and tele-

graphs. Still, it is very difficult to construct the lines because of the hostility of the population.

The Japanese, much fewer in numbers (about 36,000,000) and of later civilization than the Chinese, at once accepted the civilization of the Occident. It was in 1854 that the ports of Japan were opened for the first time to foreigners (there were five of them), and already the Japanese government has adopted the systems of railways and telegraphs, the coinage of money, the press, and the European calendar. It has taken European engineers into its service. It sends yearly hundreds of young Japanese to study in the Occident. The administration has been reorganized on European models, and even a parliamentary government has been essayed.

English Colonies.—England has reconstituted her colonial empire, which was reduced by the separation of the United States. She has to-day four groups of possessions: in North America the country conquered from the French, in South Africa the country taken from Holland during the wars of the Empire, the large islands of Oceania, which were gradually occupied, and India, conquered in the name of the East India Company. The whole forms an empire of 21,000,000 square kilometres, with a population of 270,000,000. India, which alone numbers 257,000,000, is still inhabited by the native races. The other possessions have been settled by the English, or at least by Europeans. Each of the three groups is composed of several separate colonies. At the Cape there are five, in Canada eight (without counting Newfoundland). In Australia there were no Europeans in the eighteenth century. The English government decided to found there a penal colony, in order to get rid of the convicts condemned to

forced labor. In 1787 a vessel landed at Botany Bay with 565 men, 182 women, 7 cattle, 7 horses, 29 sheep, 19 goats, 74 pigs, 5 rabbits, 18 turkeys, 38 ducks, 29 geese, and 122 chickens. Thus came into existence the first colony. Six have been successively formed. In 1840 New Zealand, which had remained unoccupied up to that period, was taken possession of by English colonists. It is now divided into eight provinces.

The colonists who settled in these countries have preserved the political customs of the English; they are accustomed to self-government, and do not at all like the intervention of the state. Therefore, the English government has applied to them the principles of the liberal economists, and leaves them to govern themselves.[1]

Each colony has its own constitution, but all these constitutions resemble the English constitution. There is always a parliament composed, as in England, of a Lower House, founded by the representatives elected by the colonists, and an Upper House, or Legislative Council, whose members are appointed (for life) by the governor with the advice of the ministers. A governor, sent from England by the king, represents the royal authority. He chooses his ministers who are responsible to the chamber.

The English government has the right of veto upon the acts of the colonial assembly, but it does not like to make use of it. In 1872 the Lower House of the state of Victoria, in Australia, had voted funds to pay the representatives. The Upper House refused its support to the measure, and a contest between the two houses ensued. The prime minister of the colony took a journey to London, ex-

[1] Except in Jamaica, and in Mauritius, which are subject to a governor and a legislative council appointed by the English government.

pressly to demand a change in the Victoria constitution. The English ministry refused to interfere, declaring that intervention in the home affairs of the colonies was justifiable only in case of pressing need. In 1878, in the colony of Lower Canada, the governor had dismissed the ministry which had a majority in the parliament, and had replaced it with one of his own choosing. The House voted against this new ministry, but the king persisted in retaining it. The House demanded that the constitution be observed, and the English ministry supported the demand by recalling the governor.

The government allows the colonies to organize their own armies; in Australia there are 10,000 troops, in Canada 28,000 troops. They are also permitted to fix the duties on merchandise imported from England.

Thus each colony is almost an independent state. There has been some idea of grouping these states into a confederation like that of the United States. In 1867 the Dominion of Canada was constituted. Eight of the North American colonies entered into the confederation. Newfoundland would not agree to do so. The constitution of this confederation is copied from those of the individual states. There is a governor-general sent out from England and a parliament formed of an Upper House chosen by the governor with the consent of the ministers, and a Lower House elected by the people. This parliament sits at Ottawa, and regulates the affairs pertaining to the customs, to the army, and to commerce. Neither the colonies of the Cape nor those in Australia have consented to be grouped together in one government.

There are in England two opposing systems concern-

ing the methods to be used in regard to the colonies. One school, faithful to the principles of the economists, considers the colonies as a burden which costs much and brings in nothing. England spends her money to make their highways and railways, to support their garrisons and fleets. She has brought upon herself difficulties and wars with the Maoris in New Zealand, with the Kaffirs at the Cape, and with the Afghans in India. She draws no revenue from them, for she has no power even to levy taxes nor to send her merchandise into colonial ports, free of all customs duties. "We are the Imperial sovereign, but we have no empire," said one of the supporters of this school.[1] "England ought, therefore, to declare the independence of her colonies, and leave to them the care and the defence of their own domains.

The other, a much more numerous school, insists that England should retain all her possessions, or, as they say, leave the British empire intact. The conservative ministry of Beaconsfield (1874–1880) was engaged in several wars with the Zulus, the Boers, and the Afghans. It obtained the cession of the Island of Cyprus to England, and it proclaimed the Queen of England Empress of India (1876). The liberal ministry of Gladstone abandoned the warlike policy, which was too costly, but it has preserved the empire pacific.

A party has even been formed which, instead of abandoning the colonies, would rather bind them more firmly to the capital. There exists as yet only a British empire, they say; there should be an Imperial British Parliament, where all the colonies would be represented. In place of

[1] This opinion has been set forth by Goldwin Smith, in "The Empire" (1863).

isolated states and small confederations there should be a single vast confederation. This would be no longer Great Britain, but the Greater Britain.[1]

Explorations.—At the close of the eighteenth century, after the great maritime expeditions of Captain Cook, the contour of all the continents and islands was pretty well known save that of the polar regions. There still remained for exploration the interiors of Africa, Australia, and South America, and the environs of the two poles. These regions were the object of the exploring expeditions of the nineteenth century.

They were not like the commercial expeditions of the sixteenth century, but were for research, having no personal ends in view but for the advancement of science. The explorers were, if not scientists, at least scientific agents, usually in the service of a government, or of a society for scientific research. In 1788 there was founded in England the African Society, which sent Mungo Park to explore the Niger valley. In France the Geographical Society gave subventions and rewards to explorers. Several expeditions have been organized by subscriptions, and it was a New York journal which paid the expenses of the first expedition made by Stanley in the wilderness of Africa.

These expeditions to the interior of the continents are incomparably more dangerous than the voyages along the coasts. They take place either in the hot climate so deadly to Europeans, or in the wild, icy regions of the poles. A large number of the explorers have lost their lives in these expeditions. They have been killed by the

[1] The idea was first expressed in a book by Sir Charles Dilke, entitled "Greater Britain" (1868). It was developed in Seeley's "The Expansion of England."

natives, like Mungo Park and Vogel in the Soudan; they have died from fever, like Clapperton and Livingstone, or from hunger, as did the explorers of Australia. Franklin, who, with two ships, departed in 1845, for the polar regions, never returned. In 1859 the remains of the expedition were discovered. Franklin and his companions had passed two winters in the ice, and had died of starvation and want. The expedition of Greely, to the North Pole, was believed to be lost, but after two years was found just at the moment when the last survivors were about to die from starvation. These sacrifices have not been useless. They have made possible an almost perfect map of the globe.

CHAPTER XVI

ARTS LETTERS AND SCIENCES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

LITERATURE

The Romantic School.—German literature since the seventeenth century had consisted chiefly of translations and imitations of French works. During the last third of the eighteenth century an original literature was formed in Germany. The writers of that time, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, are the greatest that Germany has ever had. They introduced into Europe an entirely new conception of literature, quite opposed to the classic style which prevailed in France.

They no longer sought to please by the perfection of form, but to move by the force of the sentiments expressed (the period from 1770 to 1780 has been called the Storm and Stress period). They loved to speak of their own emotions. They readily took their subjects from everyday life, and when the past was represented they did not go back to antiquity, but into modern times, into Germanic history for their heroes (Egmont, William Tell, Wallenstein). They did not speak in the old noble style, but in familiar language, no longer guardedly, but with passion. The desire was to produce enthusiasm. They did not write for "good society" only. They addressed all classes

of society, but especially the burgher class. Schiller has always been the especial poet of women and of young people.

This new literature was received with transports of admiration all over Germany. It was less perfect than the classical literature, but was more spirited, more natural, and more touching. The enthusiasm spread to the other countries, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century German literature gave the tone to all Europe.

The German writers who followed the movement begun by Goethe and Schiller were called romanticists, because instead of imitating the forms of antiquity, they had taken their models from the romances of the Middle Ages. The Romantic school was born in Germany (with Schlegel, Tieck, Brentano). It is distinguished by its enthusiasm for chivalry and the Catholic Church, its scorn for pagan antiquity, its taste for popular legends, and for the fantastic.

At the close of the eighteenth century a romantic school was formed in England. At first, according to the declaration of its founders, it was only a "sect of dissenters in poetry," who were trying "to adapt the ordinary language of the middle and lower classes to the uses of poetry." They went back to the old ballads of the Middle Ages, and invented new forms of verse. Then came the philosophic romanticists, Wordsworth and Cowper, then the two great poets, Shelley and Byron, and the novelist, Walter Scott, who brought about the triumph of romanticism in England.

In France the movement began under Napoleon. Chateaubriand made the Middle Ages and America fashionable. Madame de Staël made the French public

acquainted with Germany. The romantic school was finally formed under the Restoration. The preface to the drama of Cromwell by Victor Hugo, which appeared in 1827, is considered to be the manifesto of the school. The romanticists declare that tragedy and comedy are false and obsolete forms. They replaced them with the drama, which was to unite on the same stage the sublime and the grotesque as they are united in nature, adding to it a beauty of versification and of "mise en scène." They no longer wanted Greek and Latin heroes. They found their subjects and their inspiration in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, in Germany, in Spain, in the Orient. They reproached the classicists for having made the ancients like the moderns; as for themselves they claimed to represent people just as they really are, with their own modes of expression, their personal sentiments, and their costumes. This was called giving a local color to the scene. They would have nothing of the stately style; the language must be varied and picturesque. They introduced into the literary language all the common words which had been proscribed by the classicists; they even went to the dictionary in search of technical terms and new rhymes in order to enrich the language and poetry. They condemned the classic art as false, formal, monotonous, and cold. They wished to establish an art more supple, more varied, more in conformity with nature, which would go straight to the heart.

Under the Restoration there broke forth the famous quarrel between the classicists and the romanticists. It took the form of a struggle between old men and young men. The former were attached to the correct forms and the dignified style of the classics; the others were en-

thusiastic for the familiar tongue and the passionate forms of the new romantic school. The classicists put themselves under the protection of Racine; the romanticists invoked Shakespeare. It was a violent and puerile conflict; the adversaries not only insulted each other, but also the two great men whom they considered as the representatives of the two schools—Racine and Shakespeare. At the theatre the quarrel degenerated into a battle between the partisans of the two opposing schools, classic drama and the partisans of the romantic drama. Some hissed, others applauded, often they came to blows. At first the classicists had the numbers on their side. The party of "Young France" was as yet composed of only a few enthusiastic young men, "the long-haired romanticists." But all the writers of the future were with them, and from 1830 the general public gradually rallied to their support.

The Realistic School.—The romanticists have, in their turn, been, attacked in the name of truth and nature. It has been said that their dramas and their historical romances are no more according to nature than were the tragedies of the classical school. Their local color is only an illusion, their knights of the Middle Ages, their men of the Renaissance, their Orientals are no more faithfully drawn than were the Greeks and Romans of the classicists. They, too, are nothing but modern personages dressed out in an ancient costume, to whom the author has given the sentiments and the language of the men of 1830.

These new adversaries of the romantic school appeared in France about the year 1848, and finally formed a school. They retained the language of the romanticists, but they cast aside the historical drama and romance,

taking their subjects from contemporary life, and seeking to represent only the things that they had seen. Their endeavor is to reproduce the reality and to depict nature as it really is; therefore they describe at length scenes from actual life, with all minuteness of detail, so as to give a complete and exact idea of it. They have called themselves realists, and in these last years naturalists. It is they who predominate not only in France but in England and in Russia. There are realists even in Germany. Contemporary literature is especially a literature of observation. Its favorite *genre* is the romance of morals and manners which relates the episodes of daily life.

But the multiplicity of exact details characteristic of this school may be allied to two distinctly opposite sentiments: to a cold curiosity which only looks on the personages as subjects for study, or, on the contrary, to a lively sympathy of the author for his heroes. From this come two well-defined *genres* of romances. In the one the author analyzes and describes the adventures and the emotions of his personages as if he were an indifferent witness (this is the impassive, which rules in France); in the other the author recounts the joys and sufferings of his personages with a personal emotion, as if he had shared in them (this is the *genre* common in England and in Russia).

Forms of Literature.—No literature has been as varied as that of the nineteenth century. There is no style that has not had its representatives, no ancient form that they have not tried to revive. But only in four forms have great works been produced: lyric poetry, drama, romance, and criticism. Lyric poetry, which had fallen into decadence during the classic period, was revived in Ger-

many by Goethe and Schiller; it has become the favorite style of the romantic school. From 1770 to 1830 all the great writers were lyric poets: in Germany, Uhland and Heine; in England, Wordsworth, Burns, Coleridge, Byron and Shelley; in Italy, Leopardi; in France, the three great romanticists, Lamartine, Musset, Hugo.[1]

The drama, also created by Goethe and Schiller, is divided into two branches. The historic drama, takes the place of the ancient tragedy, and is modelled on the drama of Shakespeare. The subjects are chosen from the history and legends of Europe; the costumes of the personages help to give local color, and violent actions take place on the stage in the presence of the spectators. The greater number of these dramas are the work of lyric poets (Goethe, Schiller, Hugo); therefore, they are made to be read rather than to be played. The historical drama has fallen into discredit since 1830; it is to-day more completely abandoned than is the classic tragedy, with which it has finally become confused. The masterpieces of the historic drama have great difficulty in holding their own in a rivalry with the classic tragedies, which the Comédie-Française has restored to popularity.

The drama of contemporary manners, of which Lessing presented a model in Minna von Barnhelm, led a vegetative existence during the romantic period; but since 1848 it has become a favorite style with the public. It tends more and more to draw near to the old comedy of manners. This form has taken possession of the contemporary stage. Hardly anything else is played in Europe

[1] The remains of the romantic school in France have formed a group called the Parnassian.

except the dramas of French authors (Dumas, Augier, and Sardou, especially).

The romance was at first neglected by the romantic school. Then it re-appeared in two forms. The historical romance was created by Walter Scott, who from 1814 to 1832 wrote seventy-two romances. This style of novel remained the fashion until the middle of the nineteenth century. He has served as a model, in France even, for the historians (Augustin Thierry, Quinet, Michelet). The romance of manners again arose at about the same period and in every country. It has become the most influential form of modern contemporary literature. Since 1830 almost all the celebrated writers have been novelists: in England, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot; in Russia Gogol, Turguenieff, Tolstoï, Dostoievsky; in Germany Freytag; in France, Balzac, George Sand, and all the realistic school (Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, etc.).

Criticism, that is to say, the study of literary and artistic works, was in the preceding century only a secondary form of literature; it was generally confined to praise or censure of the work. In the nineteenth century the critics have sought to understand the works and to make them understood by others by explaining how the ideas, sentiments, and style of an author depend on his country, education, and environment, on what is called "the milieu." Criticism is especially an English and French form; in England it is of the nature of essays, in France it appears in the shape of articles in the newspapers, reviews and magazines. Macaulay in England, Sainte-Beuve, Taine and Renan in France have taken their place in the ranks of authors.

Importance of the Literature of the Nineteenth Century. —There is no agreement as to the value of the nineteenth century literature. Its enemies esteem it far inferior to the literature of the preceding centuries. They think it less simple, less noble, less perfect, and reproach it with a lack of ideals. Its partisans prefer it to any other, because they find it more varied, more spirited, more exact, and they think that it expresses sentiments more nearly like our own. But all are agreed that never has literature held so large a place in life. In the eighteenth century women read little, and the popular classes not at all. To-day reading is the diversion of all classes, the peasants excepted. The newspaper has become a necessity for all the inhabitants of the towns. Formerly a book of which several thousand copies were sold was regarded as a great success. To-day it is not rare to see 50,000 copies of a very mediocre romance issued in one year. The reading public has increased tenfold in a century. In order to satisfy it, libraries have been organized in Germany where one can go and rent books for a term of several days, and in England there are circulating libraries which loan books through the country. In France the habit of buying books is still the custom. The book trade has been largely increased along with other kinds of commerce.

The writers have profited by this success. In the cities a large class of men of letters live only by the product of their pen. The greater number are journalists by profession, or at least write regularly for the journals as a source of revenue. But the laws guaranteee to the authors a small share in the results of their labor, and these "copyrights" yield a comfortable living to the dramatic and romance writers who are in vogue.

THE FINE ARTS

Painting.—Almost all of the collections of pictures and statues which had been gathered by the princes became, in the nineteenth century, the property of the state. They have been placed in public museums or galleries, where they serve at the same time as a spectacle for the amateur and a school for the artist. In nearly all the capitals of Europe are organized annual expositions of painting and sculpture for the benefit of contemporary artists. The principal exposition is the Salon at Paris, which had its origin in the eighteenth century. Every year more than 3,000 paintings and 1,500 statues are exhibited there.

Since the fashion of having private galleries has spread among the rich amateurs the competition among buyers has greatly increased the prices of pictures. Some have been sold for 300,000 francs. In these later years the pictures of the contemporary artists have attained a price much greater even than that of the masterly works of the Renaissance. Painting has become a regular profession. There are to-day several thousand painters, chiefly in France. The best known live in comfort and some in great opulence. Like literature, painting has passed successively through three schools. The nineteenth century began with the classic school; its centre was in Paris, its master was David. The subjects preferred by this school were taken from antiquity, chiefly from Roman history, and more stress was laid on drawing (line) than on color. In Germany, about 1840, a romantic group was formed which had for its masters Overbeck and Cornelius, the founder of the Munich School. The German romanticists took their subjects from the history of

the church or from chivalry, but they, too, attached less importance to color than to line. The romantic movement did not begin in France until after 1830. It took the form of a contest between the draughtsmen, with Ingres at their head, and the colorists, whose chief was Delacroix. Finally came the realistic school, which stood for the reproduction of the reality exactly as it is, without regard to beauty.

The painters, like the writers, of the nineteenth century, have tried all branches of painting, and there is not one of them which is not represented in the Salon. The classic and the romantic schools preferred to take from history the subjects of their paintings. The classicists chose scenes from antiquity, the romanticists took their subjects from the period of the Middle Ages, and the colorists took theirs from the Orient. Like the authors, they tried to give a local color by putting the personages in the exact costume of the country where the scene was laid. For half a century historical painting has had the same fate as that of the historical drama and novel. It also has yielded its place to other forms which permit the artist to represent only what he has seen. There are three kinds of these —*genre*, landscape, and portraiture. In Germany *genre* predominates, as exemplified in the schools of Düsseldorf and Munich. The greatest portrait and landscape painters have been French (Corot, Rousseau, Millet, Fromentin, Cabanel, Breton).

Sculpture.—Sculpture again received added lustre in the early years of the nineteenth century—in Italy through Canova (1757–1822); in the north through the Danish artist Thorwaldsen (1770–1844), and also the Germans, Schwanthaler and Ritschl. For half a century sculptors

of talent have not been rare in Germany, in Italy, and especially in France. They work for the tombs and for the commemorative monuments which it has become the custom to erect on the public squares. But sculpture is not as much sought for by amateurs as are the works of the painter. Sculptors are often obliged to seek for orders from the state or to make busts of private individuals.

There has not been in sculpture the rivalry of the classic and romantic schools; all have taken the antique for their model in order to return to simple and severe forms. Yet since 1848 a number of sculptors have turned toward realism. They try to copy more exactly their model and to give more expression and movement to their figures. Together with the classic statuary which seeks beauty of form, we have also the sculpture of expression, which tries to represent the physiognomy of the personage.

Architecture.—Never have so many public edifices of all kinds been constructed at one time as in the nineteenth century—churches, town halls, court-houses, theatres, hospitals, barracks, schools. But most of the buildings lack style, others are only reproductions of other monuments. At the close of the eighteenth century, people were weary of the rococo, and of the imitations of the Italian styles. No longer was there any pleasure found in the indirect imitation of the classical styles, through the medium of the Renaissance. Architects went to Greece and Rome and studied the ancient monuments themselves. Thus grew up a classic school, which set about faithfully reproducing the antique edifices; in France the Roman art was chiefly imitated, in Germany the Greek. At that time in France the Madeleine and the Bourse were built; both are copies of temples. The Triumphal Arch

of the Carrousel is a copy of the Arch of Titus. Later in Germany, Louis I., King of Bavaria, had a whole city of Greek edifices constructed in Munich. This neo-Greek school lasted until 1848.

The romantic school did not seek to create a new style, but took the romanesque and gothic styles for models. The head of the school in France was Viollet-le-Duc, who labored all his life long in the restoration or in the reproduction of the monuments of the Middle Ages. The romantic architects have done hardly anything but copy the churches and civic buildings of these two styles. But in doing so they have rendered a great service to architecture and to the world. They have taught the people to admire the gothic and romanesque art, which had been scorned for so many centuries. They have saved the masterpieces of the Middle Ages, which were rapidly falling into ruin. Notre Dame de Paris, even, was so dilapidated that Viollet-le-Duc spent years in repairing it; in Germany it was necessary to almost wholly reconstruct the castle of the Wartburg.

In the last few years some architects have tried to build up a new style of edifice, appropriate to modern needs. Of this character is the Opera at Paris, the work of Garnier.

The Universal Exposition of 1889 inaugurated a new form of architecture. It is made up of light materials, iron, and enamelled brick, which permit the construction of much higher and more slender edifices. The highest monument in the world is the Eiffel Tower (300 metres), built on the Champ-de-Mars.

Music.—The nineteenth century is sometimes called the century of music. Music has in fact taken at times

as large a place as literature in the life of the century. It has been made a part of all festal occasions. Since 1830 it has been considered indispensable in the education of the daughters of the middle class, and in almost all the countries of Europe it has been introduced into the primary schools. Nearly all the large towns in Europe have their opera house and their concerts. Even in France and England, where music was not a part of the daily life, the example of Germany, Italy, and the Slav countries has been followed.

The nineteenth century has produced more great musicians than any other century. It has produced the greatest of all musicians, Beethoven (1770–1827).

During the first half of the century the public was divided on the merits of two schools of widely different origin and character—the Italian and the German. The German music represented by Beethoven, Mozart, Weber, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, consists chiefly of symphonies, sonatas, overtures and melodies; it is composed for orchestra, piano, and voice.

The Italians, Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi, have done little but for the stage. Their operas destined for the French public were composed to French words. As for French music (Boïeldieu, Hérold, Auber, Halévy, Meyerbeer, Gounod), it is chiefly operatic or for the comic opera, and is intermediary between the two schools.

The Italians were the fashion in France during the reign of the romantic school. The "Italiens" at Paris was the rendezvous of the most aristocratic society. To-day the public prefers the music of the German composers; the orchestration is better, the thought more profound and more varied than in the Italian. A German,

Richard Wagner (1812–1883), has revived the opera in creating the music drama.[1] He has broken away from ancient usage. Instead of writing his music afterwards to words composed to order by a librettist, he has written words and music at the same time, so that the music is bound up with the action. He has suppressed the "couplets," during which the action was stopped. He wanted the singer to be also an actor, and the music to form a unity with the drama.

In our time, also, a new source of music has been discovered in the popular melody, and these popular airs are being gathered together. This work began in Germany and in the Slav countries, and is continued in France today.

THE SCIENCES

Progress of the Sciences.—The nineteenth century has often been called the century of science. All civilized peoples support scientific establishments and universities, whose professors make it their chief mission to aid in the advancement of science. Never have there been so many savants of all kinds, never have the sciences advanced so systematically.

Many pages would be needed to recount all the events in the progress of each science. The most rapid advance has been made in chemistry and in the natural sciences. In physics the principal discovery has been electromagnetism, that is, of the currents of induction, which has supplied the principle for the electric telegraph. It was made at the same time in France and in England. The principal theory is that of the equivalence of force

[1] Weber had prepared for this revolution by the introduction of the popular melody into his operas.

and heat. The principal invention is the spectroscope, which permits the study of a distant body, planet, or star, by gathering up the light emitted from it (spectral analysis).

Astronomy has been constituted by the hypothesis of Laplace, which explains the formation of the sun, the earth, and the planets (set forth in his "Treatise on Celestial Mechanics"), and by the discovery of the composition of the nebulæ. Meteorology, for which observatories have been built on the summits of high mountains, has collected a large number of facts, without as yet being constituted a science.

Chemistry was created at the close of the eighteenth century through the efforts of a Swede, Scheele, an Englishman, Priestley, and a Frenchman, Lavoisier, who had isolated the most important chemical bodies (Lavoisier was the first to analyze water in separating the oxygen from the hydrogen).[1] Since that time chemistry has made an uninterrupted progress in France, in England, and in Germany. After having isolated the simple bodies, the composition of organized bodies was studied as they are seen in the animal and vegetable world. This is called organic chemistry. It is already so far advanced that organic bodies have been produced just as they are found in nature by combining their elements according to chemical synthesis.

Zoölogy was constituted a science by Cuvier, who studied the anatomy of animals, and in his "Animal Kingdom" he has given a general classification of the animals. Botany has been completed by vegetable anatomy and physiology, which reveal the organization and functions

[1] Lavoisier may also be considered as one of the founders of physiology. He has pointed out the rôle of oxygen, and has shown that all respiration is combustion.

of plants. Geology and paleontology are entirely new sciences. Cuvier laid the foundation of them; the researches of savants, the labors of engineers in the quarries and in the cuts of the railways, have furnished innumerable specimens of the different kinds of soils, and of the different species of animals which have succeeded each other on the globe. Claude Bernard, in France, established a system of general physiology by means of experiments on living animals (vivisection); in Germany histology was constituted a science through studies made with the microscope. All these sciences have been grouped into one system through the hypothesis of evolution set forth by Darwin in regard to animals, and since then applied to all the natural sciences. This hypothesis has permitted the joining together of hitherto isolated facts and has given a new direction to research.

The Moral Sciences.—In the nineteenth century the first efforts were made toward the methodic study of moral phenomena, *i. e.*, the manifestations of the human mind (languages, books, laws, institutions), and search for the laws by which they are governed. This work was begun in France by isolated students of humanity, and continued in Germany by the professors at the universities.

The languages and religions of Persia and India have been recovered. By comparing them with the languages and religions of the Greeks and Romans, comparative mythology and philology have been created. It has been observed that the languages have not been formed by chance, but according to regular laws. Grammar, until that epoch, was nothing but a collection of rules of which no one knew the reason. Grimm and Bopp made it into a science which explains the origin and transformation of

language, by entering on a comparative study of the languages of the people of China and those of savage tribes, as collated by the missionaries. Humboldt has constructed a general science of language (linguistics).[1]

There has been an attempt to renovate even history. In place of the simple story, they have sought to make it a methodical study of the transformations in human society. This has been the work of the philologists, and learned men of Germany especially. They have laid down the principle that history can only be based on authentic documents. They have applied a critical method which permits the reconstitution of altered texts, and the determination of their value. The soil of Greece, Italy, Egypt and Assyria has been searched in order to find inscriptions and the débris of monuments; libraries and archives have been examined for documents concerning the history of Europe. Thanks to these efforts, continued for more than a century, history has almost become a science.

The historic method has also been applied to the study of society. We have sought to learn how the laws and institutions of peoples have been formed. In this manner have come into being historic law (created by the German school, whose chief exponent was Savigny), historic politics, and historical political economy. In this sense one might say that the nineteenth century is the century of history.

Philosophy in our century has produced two great schools, the German school and the English school.

The German philosophers since the time of Kant have been more than anything else metaphysicians. They

[1] To-day the word philology is applied to the study of authors, and linguistics to the study of languages.

have tried to construct a system which would explain the ensemble of the world, and the place of man in the universe. Each of the great philosophers (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer) has had his original system. Through the profundity of their thought, and the poetic beauty of their creations, they have made a strong impression on the imagination, and set all minds in action. The traces of their ideas are found among the writers, politicians, and learned men of their time.

The English, on the contrary (John Stuart Mill, Bain, Herbert Spencer), were logicians and psychologists. They observed the truths which appeared in the minds of men, and sought to classify them. They did little with metaphysics, preferring to study politics and morals, of which they tried to constitute sciences by observing the laws which govern human actions.

In the other countries the philosophers have been only disciples of the English or of the German schools.

In France the only school which might be able to pass for an original system is the Positivist school founded by Auguste Comte. The eclectic philosophy, whose chief representative was Cousin, was inspired by the Scotch school; the critical philosophy is derived from the doctrine of Kant, and the experimental school is an application of the English method.

CHAPTER XVII

INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE

Application of Scientific Discoveries to Industry.—Science in the nineteenth century has not only grown more extensive, it has become more useful. Sufficiently exact and precise theories have been formulated so that it has been possible to apply them in actual practice. The progress of the sciences has thus brought into all the arts of life perfected methods which have caused a revolution in industry, agriculture, and in the modes of transportation. These changes have in their turn produced a most rapid revolution in the organization of life. In each country, as the savants have discovered new facts and formulated new laws, the engineers, chemists and manufacturers have sought to benefit by them. Some have labored to become better acquainted with nature, others have sought to control it.

Steam and Electricity.—The most fecund of all discoveries up to the present is that of the motor power of steam. Three important applications of this knowledge have been made in steam engines, steamboats and railways.

In the eighteenth century Watt had invented a steam engine. It has been improved upon many times, and serves to-day to set in motion great manufacturing machines, and is employed in mills in place of water.

The idea of a steamboat reverts to Papin and the Mar-

quis of Jouffroy. But the invention did not become practical until the nineteenth century after the American Fulton had launched the first steamboat on the Hudson, in 1808. They were at first furnished with wheels, but since 1840 the screw has gradually taken the place of the wheel. Steamboats have taken away almost all of the transportation of passengers from sailing vessels, and they are drawing away more and more of the carriage of merchandise. They are even taking the place of the fishing smack. They have the advantage of being able to move more quickly and in all kinds of weather.

Railways came into use later. The steam carriage was invented to run on the ordinary road, and on the iron railway which was used in the mines in order to aid in the rapid movement of a cart drawn by a horse. Stephenson, in putting the steam locomotive on the rails, created the railway. At first (1821) it was only employed for the transportation of coal, but since 1830 it has been used for the carriage of people.

Electricity has been applied only during the last half century, but it has already given rise to the telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, and electrotyping.

The invention of the electric telegraph took place about the same time in France, England and Germany, between the years 1833 and 1838. After having found out a manner of using it on a single wire, the transmission of dispatches was perfected; at first a needle marked the letters on a clock-face, then the Morse invention of marking points on a band of paper, and finally the apparatus for printing the letters. Since 1850 the telegraph has come into general and frequent use. The submarine telegraph consists of wire cords protected by gutta-percha wrappers,

forming a cable. The first cable was laid from Calais to Dover in 1851. The transatlantic cable was laid in 1857, but the first one was a failure, and only since 1865 has the service been regularly established, and it has made necessary the invention of a new receiving apparatus.

The telephone is a recent invention, and is still incomplete. It is established in nearly all the large towns; each business house has one for rapid communication with its patrons.

Progress of Agriculture.—Through mechanics and chemistry agriculture has been improved. Machines have been invented (reapers, mowers, threshing-machines) which have taken the place of the instruments used by hand (scythe, sickle and flail) and accomplish the work in much less time, and with less labor. Chemistry has furnished fertilizers, of more energy and less expense. Something has been learned, too, from the study of zoology and botany. The large proprietors have labored to improve the races of animals and to introduce new crops. Everywhere agricultural societies have been founded. These publish studies on farming, and employ men to improve on the processes in use.

Still more than science has commerce added to the growth of the agricultural industries. When there was no other means of transportation except by wagons the farmers were interested only in producing enough for home consumption and for the markets of the neighboring towns. The peasants of Castille let their grain decay in the fields; the peasants of Russia could not sell their crops because it would not have paid for the transportation. Since railways and good roads have been made everywhere, the

farmers, being sure of a market for their produce, labor continually to increase the yield. By methodical fertilizing they cause the earth to bring forth more abundantly. The practice of permitting the land to lie fallow every third year has been abandoned. Sugar beet is largely cultivated, and all farming is done on the plan of intensive culture. The extent of cultivated land has been largely increased. Mediocre lands, which were always left unploughed, have been put under cultivation. The vast solitudes of America have been transformed into fields of wheat. Europe, which in 1850 had only 150,000,000 hectares under cultivation, had in 1884 200,000,000. The United States, which in 1850 had only 22,000,000 hectares, had in 1884 64,000,000. The same progress is noted in the raising of cattle. The great sheep-raising countries, Australia, the Cape, La Plata, exported in 1864 450,000 bales of wool, in 1885 the exports were 1,700,000 bales. The production of cotton has risen from 2,400,000 pounds in 1870 to 4,000,000 in 1884. Agriculture has made more progress in the last thirty years than in all the eighteen preceding centuries.

Progress of Industry.—Industry has greatly profited by the application of the sciences, and especially through the aid of mechanics, and chemistry. Many new industries have been started in the nineteenth century and it would be hard to find any of the old industries in which the instruments and methods have not been changed during the last hundred years. Extension has kept pace with the improvements. The increase in population and wealth, and the facility of transportation, have induced a larger production. Old manufactories have been enlarged and new ones have been built. In the last thirty

years manufacturing on a large scale has been established in countries that were formerly exclusively devoted to agriculture: Russia, Hungary, and the United States. Each branch of industry has a double history: the history of successive improvements brought into its methods, and the history of its introduction into the different civilized countries. In place of that long history is given the list of the principal industries, invented or improved on during the nineteenth century.

Among the former industries:

Mining (the coal mines produced in 1810 only 9,000,000 tons, in 1860 140,000,000, in 1880 344,000,000).

The iron industry (forges heated by wood have been replaced by those heated by coal); then were built the great furnaces, and steam hammers, and pile drivers, which allow the fusing and working of enormous masses; the production of iron has increased from 4,000,000 tons in 1650 to 20,000,000 in 1882.

The making of firearms (the flint musket had given place to the rifle, and then rapid-firing guns were invented, breech-loading steel guns, carbines and revolvers).

Printing improved by the use of the steam press and of stereotyping.

Among the new inventions and discoveries the principal ones, beside steam and electricity, are:

Chemical matches.

Beet-sugar.

Gas.

Petroleum.

India rubber and gutta-percha.

Photography and heliogravure.

Electrotyping.

Extracting colors from coal.

Canning of foods, and the manufacture of the extract of beef.

The number of workmen employed in the mines and factories of Europe and the United States in 1880 reached 16,000,000, producing 70,000,000,000 francs; cottons and woolens alone occupied 3,500,000 workmen, who produced one-fourth of the total value. France had nearly 2,000,000 operatives.

Progress of Commerce.—Commerce has been disturbed by two great revolutions: one the change in the mode of transportation, the other the change in methods of communication.

On the sea, the sailing-vessel has been supplanted by the much more rapid steamer. Harbors have been put in order. The coast has been furnished with lighthouses. Marine maps have been drawn, which give the depths and the directions of the currents. Regular steamship service has been arranged between the large ports. There are now hundreds of lines crossing the seas. The way is so well known, and so methodically followed, that the ordinary passage of ships may be recognized at the bottom of the sea, by the trail of coal cinders which have been thrown overboard. The voyage from England to America, which once occupied a month, is now regularly made in ten days, and some boats have just been built which can make the passage in five days. It is estimated that a steamer to-day does five times the carrying that was done by a sailing-vessel of the same tonnage.

On land the transportation was formerly only by means of the stage-coach for people, and of wagons for merchandise. This was carried on along the dusty highways,

which were at times often full of mud holes. In France it was thought that great progress had been made when the *messageries* took only three days and three nights to make the journey from Paris to Lyons. Since 1850 stage-coaches and wagons have disappeared on all the great lines; the railways have taken their place. In 1883 there were about 450,000 kilometres of railway in the world, 183,000 in Europe, and 220,000 in America, with express trains running at the rate of sixty kilometres an hour (the train from London to Edinburgh makes the 646 kilometres in nine hours).

The building of railways has not prevented the improvement of the highways. The old straight, paved roads, with dangerous ascents and descents have been replaced by macadamized roads with gentle slopes.

The means of communication have also been increased. The postal service was in use at the beginning of the century, but the transportation of letters was slow and costly. England set the example by franking letters, through the use of the postage-stamp, and by establishing a low uniform tariff, no matter what distance was to be covered. Then the extension of the railways has caused a revolution in the postal system. The service exists to-day between all civilized peoples and their colonies. In 1882 the Postal Union had carried about 4,800,000,000 letters, 900,000,000 postal cards, 3,700,000,000 journals, and 120,000,000 postal orders representing a value of 6,500,000,000 francs. The electric telegraph systems have only been organized since 1850, and in 1883 there were 1,200,000 kilometres of telegraph lines (500,000 for Europe, 430,000 in America), and 153,000 kilometres of electric cables.

These new means of transportation and communication have prodigiously increased the internal commerce of each country, as well as the trade between different countries. In fifty years (1830–1880) the commerce of the United States and Europe had increased 800 per cent., from 9,000,000,000 to 70,000,000,000 francs. The commerce of England increased from 2,200,000,000 to 15,000,000,000 and that of France from 1,500,000,000 to 9,200,000,000. It was estimated that in 1883 the trade of Europe increased to more than 62,000,000,000 (England alone imported more than 10,000,000,000, and exported more than 6,000,000,000 worth of merchandise). This activity goes on increasing. In twenty years (1865–1885) commerce has more than doubled.

The result has been to permit each country to sell its products and to put them within the reach of buyers in all the other countries; consequently to increase the price of merchandise in the countries where it is produced, and to lower the price in the countries where the sales are made. Towards 1830 the measure of wheat was valued in England at 15 francs 20, in France at 9.50, in Germany 6.20, and in Hungary 4.25. In 1870 the price had gone down in England to 9 francs 90, and had risen in Hungary to 7.90. The difference had been reduced from 150 to 23 per cent. Thus prices are equalized from one end of the world to the other. Commerce tends to bring the conditions of living to almost the same level in all civilized countries.

CHAPTER XVIII

ECONOMIC REFORMS IN FRANCE AND IN EUROPE

Increase of Wealth.—The progress of industry and commerce has created new sources of wealth. The abundance of things necessary to life has increased the number of inhabitants. Never has this growth been so rapid. In eighty-two years (1800–1882) Europe shows an increase from 187,000,000 inhabitants to 330,000,000, the United States from 5,000,000 to 50,000,000. The growth has been much more rapid among the Anglo-Saxon peoples; in these eighty years the number has trebled.

Wealth grew still more rapidly and continues to increase. The inhabitants of the civilized countries no longer spend all their revenue; each year a sum is put aside to be employed as a new source of income. These savings average 1,600,000,000 francs in England, 1,900,000,000 in France, 1,000,000,000 in Germany, 4,000,000,000 in the United States; in all 12,000,000,000 a year. The savings-banks, which in 1860 had deposits of 3,150,000,000 francs, had in 1878 8,500,000,000.

The nations have taken advantage of this increase in wealth and have added to their expenditures. All the states of Europe taken together did not in 1820 spend more than 6,000,000,000 francs a year. To-day the expenditure amounts to 19,000,000,000. For England the increase has been from 1,250,000,000 to 2,800,000,000; for

France from 700,000,000 to 2,800,000,000. In order to cover these expenses the taxes had to be increased, for they are to-day the chief source of revenue for the governments. The direct tax on property would not have sufficed to bear this crushing increase. Recourse was had to the customs and the indirect tax on beverages, sugar, tobacco, and owing to the rapid increase in population these taxes have become the most productive of all.

Countries have had facilities for borrowing that were unknown in the eighteenth century, and in this way have contracted enormous debts. England set the example; in order to maintain the wars with Napoleon she increased her debt to 920,000,000 pounds sterling in 1815. It was then said that such a debt would render bankruptcy inevitable. England has, however, not only paid the interest on the debt, but has saved since that time 83,000,000,000 francs, reducing the debt from 23,000,000,000 to 19,000,000,000 francs. All the other states have entered the same path. To borrow is the usual recourse of governments when they are embarrassed in order to find sufficient money for their necessities. The debts of a state are contracted under the form of an irredeemable loan; the creditors have the right to draw out the interest only. The increase in the annual tax serves to pay this interest.

So general has been this method of procedure that the debts of almost all the states have increased, between 1820 to 1880, in unprecedented proportions. Germany's debt of 550,000,000 francs has become 5,400,000,000 for the empire, and 8,000,000,000 for the individual states; Russia's debt increased from 1,200,000,000 to 14,500,000,000; Austria's from 2,400,000,000 to 10,500,000,000. Italy's from 820,000,000 to 10,000,000,000; and the debt

of France from 4,000,000,000 to 22,000,000,000. The greater part of the money thus borrowed has been expended in wars. The Crimean War is thought to have increased the debts of the states which participated in it 4,800,000,000 francs; the Civil War in the United States added 12,200,000,000 francs to the debt, and the French war 9,000,000,000 francs. The armaments alone have increased the debts 42,000,000,000 francs, while railways and telegraphs have only increased them 14,000,000,000 francs.

Coin and Paper Money.—The gold mines of Australia and California have produced more gold than there had ever before been in circulation since the world began. During the period from 1850 to 1860 the average product yearly was 200,000 kilos. valued at 700,000,000 francs. Between 1800 and 1885 the quantity was almost trebled, and to-day it is estimated that about 45,000,000,000 francs are in circulation. The silver mines had been at first less productive. Toward 1850 the yield was as yet only 900,000 kilos. a year. By 1870 the increase amounted to 2,000,000 kilos. and in 1884 to 2,800,000. This increase, enormous though it may be, is not, however, in proportion to the increase in commerce, which has grown tenfold in the same time. The precious metals have, therefore, not been sufficient for the needs of trade. One of the great revolutionary measures of the nineteenth century was the development of the system of paper money.

For a long time banks had been accustomed to issue notes. They were used in China as early as the eighth century of our era. France had used them in 1719 in the State Bank, established by law. But the public never had any confidence in this paper.

Since the close of the eighteenth century government banks have been established with sufficient guarantees to inspire confidence. The bank had the right to issue only a fixed quantity of notes, and it must keep in its vaults enough coin to redeem these notes. This is the metal reserve, and equals about one-third of the notes in actual circulation. The bank utilizes the remainder of its funds by placing them in loans to responsible merchants. These loans constitute the commercial paper of the bank. As the money has cost it nothing, having been received in exchange for notes issued by the bank, a profit is assured. In a monetary crisis, when the holders of the notes might be tempted to demand redemption, the state comes to the aid of the bank by decreeing the issue to be legal tender, and the bank is then no longer obliged to redeem; the notes must be accepted in all payments.

All the civilized countries have to-day state banks. In the rich countries like England, France and the United States, where there is complete confidence in the monetary system, the notes are as readily accepted as gold. Often they are preferred, as they are more conveniently carried. In the countries where the state has less credit the notes are less in value than the sum they are intended to represent. In Austria paper loses 29 per cent., in Russia the paper *rouble* in place of being worth four francs is worth hardly 2 francs 50 centimes. About 23,000,000,000 francs in bank notes are in circulation.

Organization of Credit.—The enormous growth of industry and commerce has been possible only through a corresponding increase in the credit system. Credit existed from the time of the Middle Ages, but only in the nineteenth century did it become such a power, owing

chiefly to two institutions which already existed but which have been utilized in an entirely different manner: banks and joint-stock companies.

The banks issue notes, and as gold and silver continue to circulate along with these notes, the quantity of cash is doubled and manufacturers can operate with a doubled capital, and do a double amount of business. The banks have rendered another service to commerce by the system of checks and clearing of accounts. The manufacturers and merchants of the different countries, who have an account open in a bank, in order to pay a sum have only to give a check for that sum, payable at that bank. In order to arrange a payment between two patrons of the same bank, it is only necessary to efface the amount from the assets of the debtor and carry it over to the assets of the creditor. Millions are thus paid without disturbing one cent of the cash. The Bank of France handles in this way more than 40,000,000,000 francs every year for the benefit of its patrons. The same system is used among the banks of the same town. In London and in New York the clerks of the principal banks assemble every day at the clearing-house, in order to offset the checks which they have drawn on each other. The amount of these payments in London reaches yearly the sum of 130,000,000,000 francs and in New York about 150,000,000,000 francs. This simple procedure keeps in circulation indefinitely an immense capital, and renders possible the extraordinary figures which indicate the business of the world.

Joint-stock companies are not a new arrangement. The Bank of St. George, founded at Geneva, in 1407, belonged to a company of capitalists, each of whom owned

a share in the enterprise. All the commerical companies organized since the seventeenth century have had their capital divided into parts which were even then called shares or stock. But in our day capital is divided into much smaller shares (some of 500 francs), within reach of the smallest purses; thus the small savings have been grouped to form a large capital and to set up large enterprises by means of stocks.

When a business appears to offer large results a joint-stock company is formed. This company belongs in common to all who have taken stock in it. The stockholders share with each other the profits in proportion to the amount of stock which each one holds; this is the dividend. The affairs are directed by a council of administration, but movements are decided upon at the meetings of the stockholders. These companies have been organized for all kinds of great enterprises, railways, mines, the Canal of Suez, etc.

The stock of a company has a fluctuating value; the buyers will give a larger or smaller price, according to the results which are expected. The same is true in regard to merchandise. The price of grain, cotton, coffee, oil, depends on very changeable conditions, and varies from day to day. In order to fix the value of these stocks and products it was necessary that the buyers and sellers should come together at a common centre. This centre is the Exchange. This daily reunion has done away with the great annual fairs, which have by degrees attracted fewer visitors, in the West at least.

Ever since the sixteenth century there have been in the large commercial towns exchanges which served as a rendezvous for the traders in grains, cotton, coffee and other

merchandise which was sold at wholesale, but the principal exchange to-day, that which is called simply the Exchange, is where the stockbrokers come to buy or sell for their clients the stocks of the joint-stock companies or the bonds issued by the state.

The price of each varies daily: when it increases it is said to be "going up"; when it decreases then it is "going down." These fluctuations correspond to periods of prosperity or of depression. That is the reason why the Exchange is compared to a thermometer, whose variations indicate the financial condition of a country.

This fluctuation in values has given rise to a class of operations characteristic of our century and called speculation. It arose from the habit of buying and selling securities not for cash that is payable at once, but for a term, deliverable only at the end of a certain time, usually at the end of the month. The speculators buy securities or merchandise without having the same delivered, and sell again without ever having had possession of their purchases. If the value increases in the interval between the sale and the time of delivery, those who have sold are obliged to buy at a greater price than they have sold for, and they lose the difference. If the price is lowered they can buy cheaper and so gain the difference. In the same way the buyer gains if the value increases, and loses in case of a decline. The operations of the Exchange have thus taken on the form of a game, and to "speculate on the rise" or "to speculate on the fall" are common expressions. Speculation is carried on with enormous sums, for the speculator who buys a million of securities does not need to have a million; therefore the gains and losses are immense. It is chiefly through speculation

that the great fortunes of the financiers of our day are made.

Capital does not remain in the country that produces it. For a long time the rich and civilized peoples, as in England and France, have accumulated more capital than they could employ in their own country. They send their money and their engineers to new countries where money is scarce: to America, Russia, Turkey, in order to organize great schemes for the exploitation of the country, to invest in railways, mines, gas plants. The English draw an annual interest of 1,500,000,000 francs from their capital placed in foreign lands.

Throughout the world may be found industrial enterprises which belong to English companies. Often, also, the capital of different countries is brought together in one common enterprise. In this way the Suez Canal was built. It is 162 kilometres long, 100 metres wide, and 9 metres deep. The St. Gothard tunnel, which unites Germany with Italy, was built at the common expense of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.

Protection and Free Trade.—In regard to the manner of regulating commerce between nations there are two widely diverse theories. One of these is free trade. This comes from the principle of the ancient economists that free competition is the system most favorable to the production of wealth. It demands for all the inhabitants of a country the right to freely exchange their merchandise with other countries, that is to buy and sell in foreign lands in the same way as in one's own country, without having to pay a duty for entry, or at least only a very small tariff.

The other theory is that of protection, which resembles the old theory of the balance of trade. It admits that a

nation is interested in protecting its own industries in competition with those of other nations, and demands, therefore, that articles of foreign manufacture should be taxed on their entry into the country. This tax would force an increase in the price, and put it on a level with the price demanded for productions of the home market.

The free traders reject the idea of a customs duty on the frontier, or at least consider it only under the head of a tax; the protectionists, on the contrary, demand it especially as a protection.

Free trade, after having been in favor in the eighteenth century, was abandoned during the wars of the Empire. The Continental Blockade of Napoleon was a system of protection, the most exclusive ever experienced. No English merchandise could be admitted. After the Restoration, an intermediate system was instituted. In England, where the large land owners ruled in the Parliament, they organized a tariff system to protect their grain against the grain trade of the other countries. The law of 1815 closed England to all foreign grain until the price of English wheat reached eighty shillings a quarter, then, only to avoid a famine, did they permit the entrance of foreign grain.

In France, the introduction of the greater part of English manufactured articles was forbidden, especially wool and cotton threads, carriages, and cutlery. To regulate the trade in grain the sliding scale system was introduced. The tax levied at entry in France varied according to the price of grain in the French markets. Then the free traders began to agitate the suppression of the prohibitive measures and the lowering of the protection tax. Their triumph has been most complete in England. In 1824

Huskisson obtained in Parliament a reduction of the tax, and in 1838 an association was founded (the Anti-Corn Law League) for the purpose of demanding the abolition of the laws touching grain. It had its centre at Manchester, and Richard Cobden, a manufacturer, was the leader of the movement. Through agitation and writings, aided by a famine, the association succeeded, in 1846, in obtaining a declaration in favor of free commerce in grain. The school of Manchester finally converted the Whig party to its ideas, and thus the customs duties on many other objects were reduced.

In all the other European countries the governments have remained protectionists.

Commercial Treaties.—Protection has remained a principle of international law in Europe. A country does not allow foreign merchandise to enter without first paying a duty. Each state has drawn up a list of duties that must be paid by each kind of merchandise. This is the general tariff. It cannot be suppressed or reduced for a certain article unless by special convention. In order to obtain these reductions, it has become necessary for the powers to conclude treaties with each other. The principle usual in these treaties is reciprocity. Each state agrees to grant to another a reduction on the entry of its produce on condition that a similar reduction be made on the merchandise of the other party to the contract. This is called, in England "fair rade," and is different from free trade, which opens the country to all foreign goods without demanding any favors in return.

Commercial treaties at one time seemed to be a means of gradually establishing free trade. By the treaty of 1860 between France and England Napoleon III abolished

all prohibitive laws, and replaced them with protective duties which were to be reduced from year to year: 30 per cent. from 1861, 25 per cent. from 1864. England suppressed all duties on French manufactures, silks, millinery goods, *articles de Paris;* the duty on wines was reduced from 158 francs to 22 francs a hectolitre. This treaty was to be in force ten years.

In recent years all the states have returned to the system of protection. In many commercial treaties, instead of establishing a fixed tariff of duties, the treaty stipulates that no more duties shall be collected than are paid by the nation that pays the least. This is called "the clause of the most favored nation." This kind of treaty does not hinder the state from raising its taxes, it only obliges it to raise the taxes on the merchandise of all countries at the same time.

Universal Expositions.—The enormous progress of industry and commerce suggested the idea of a universal exposition, where could be gathered the inventions and products of the whole world, and which would serve at the same time as an amusement and as a school. The first was held at London in 1851; there were 17,000 exhibitors. Then came the expositions at Paris in 1855, with 24,000 exhibitors; at London in 1862, with 27,000 exhibitors; at Paris, in 1867, with 52,000 exhibitors; at Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, Paris in 1878; Melbourne, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Bruxelles, and the Exposition at Paris in 1889. Each exposition has been larger than the preceding one. At Paris, in 1855, the exposition was held in the Palais de l'Industrie, in the Champs Elysées. It occupied only eleven hectares, with 24,000 exhibitors. There were 4,594,000 visitors. The exposi-

tion of 1889, besides the Champ de Mars and the Trocadéro, took in all the Esplanade of the Invalides and the quais between the Invalides and the Champ de Mars. There were more than 28,000,000 visitors.

Commercial Crises.—Commerce has bound all civilized nations so closely together that they all mutually help one another, and each one feels the effect of prosperity or of disaster in the others. In the Middle Ages the provinces of the same country were isolated. When the harvest failed in one province a famine was the result and the people died. Since the sixteenth century famines have ceased, but the years of failure in crops have continued, and there has been want when the price of grain was too high for the people. To-day, when the harvest is a failure, the arrival of grain from Russia, America or Hungary compensates so entirely for the deficit that the consumer does not suffer. From 1876 to 1879 there were in France four bad years in succession. This would have caused a terrible famine in the Middle Ages, and yet at this time there was scarcely a perceptible rise in the price of bread.

To-day want is no longer feared, and the greatest suffering is caused by the economic crises. These come from divers sources: commercial crises, brought on by a war which has suspended the course of trade; by the opening of a new market; by a sudden change in the routes of commerce. Industrial crises produced by the closing of an outlet for trade; by new competition, or because more objects have been manufactured than can be sold (what is called over-production). Monetary crises, due to the exportation of too great a quantity of specie. Crises on the Exchange, which burst forth when the infatuation of the public has caused stocks to rise to an unreasonable

price (for some years these crises have been called a "Krach" from the German word for crash). All are manifested in a sudden decline of activity in business. Confidence ceases; capitalists who have money to invest will not risk lending it; the bankers and merchants cannot borrow, and not being able to meet their payments, bankruptcy follows; consumption diminishes; manufacturers receive no orders; they close their shops or send away a part of their employees; the workmen can find nothing to do, and poverty follows. Directly or indirectly, all classes of society are involved. As all the civilized countries are bound together by trade in such a way as to form one single market, so a crisis arising in one country must be felt in the others. The great crisis of 1857 began in the United States, in the month of September. There were more than 5,000 failures with liabilities of more than 1,500,000,000 francs. In the month of November it was felt in England. From there it reached Northern Germany, Denmark, Austria; then the Indies, and finally Brazil and Buenos Ayres.

CHAPTER XIX

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Democratic Ideas.—All society in Europe, from the time of the Middle Ages, had been organized in unequal classes. According to the family in which one was born one was a noble, bourgeois, or peasant; the condition of a man depended on his birth, and it was thought quite natural that a man should remain in the condition in which he was born. A small number of men, of the superior classes—men who were well-born—alone had any authority, honors or wealth, and they alone attracted public attention. Society was aristocratic. From the eighteenth century this society had been sharply attacked, especially by the men of letters. They declared that the arrangement was unjust, because it made men unequal whom nature had made equal; inhuman, because it held the larger part of the population in a humiliating and miserable condition; absurd, because it left to the chance of birth the decision as to what men should lead society. There was formed in all of the countries a sentiment that was called democratic, in opposition to aristocratic. The word democratic has lost its primitive meaning (government by the people). It is applied to-day to any system which takes no account of birth. In fact, the democrats have usually been partisans of a republic, because the nobles sustained the monarchy. But a democracy must

not be confounded with a republic.[1] The French empire was a democratic monarchy.

Democratic principles have been applied to government, society and manners. In the government it is demanded that the law should make no difference between men, either in taxation or in judicature. It was desired even that a man, whatever the accident of his birth, should be eligible to all offices, even the highest. It was this pretention which shocked the partisans of tradition. It seemed to them that the office was dishonored in confiding it to a man of the people. The democrats contended that any man, if he had the means, should have the right to buy any land, even that belonging to the nobility, and to give his children the same education as that given to the children of the greatest lord. They did not admit inequality in private life. They fought the prejudice of birth and were indignant at the refusal of a noble to receive as his guest a bourgeois, or to permit him to marry his daughter, and that many bourgeois should act in the same manner towards the laboring classes.[2]

Abolition of Serfdom.—The serfdom of the peasants had disappeared from almost all of Europe during the Revolution. In all countries where a French administration had been established serfdom had been immediately abolished.

In the other countries the governments had permitted

[1] Neither must the democrat and the partisan of equality be confounded. The latter want all men to be treated with absolute equality, without regard to merit: the democrats admit that there are inequalities in fortune, in honors and in authority. They only demand that position should not be decided by birth. The government of the Jacobins was a system of equality, the republic of the United States is a democratic system.

[2] This sentiment has been often expressed in romances and in the drama. See particularly Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe."

the peasants to redeem the rents and forced labor (corvee) which they owed to their lords. The redemption took place gradually. In Germany all that remained of the seigniorial rights has been suppressed as a result of the movement in 1848, and the peasants have become full proprietors (except in Mecklenburg). In the empire of Austria the corvee had been retained, but under regulations. The Constituent of 1848 abolished it.

In Russia, nothing had been changed in regard to the serfs. After 1850 the Russian writers began to touch the heart of the public by describing the miserable condition of the serfs. The Czar Alexander II. by the ukase of 1861 abolished serfdom. All the serfs were declared free. The domestics who served in the households of their lords (there were 1,500,000) had the right to leave their master or to remain in his service at a certain wage. The condition of the peasants, which constitute the mass of the Russian people, was more difficult of adjustment. They could not be taken from the lands which they had cultivated for generations and be reduced to the position of day laborers for their masters. They, themselves, preferred to remain serfs, and to keep the land which they regarded as their own property. A philanthropic landowner, who wanted to enfranchise his serfs, giving to each one his house and garden, explained his project to them. "And the tillable lands?" they asked. "The lands are mine," was the reply. "In that case, little father, let all remain as in the past. We belong to thee, but the land is ours." The czar decided that each serf should receive enough land for the support of his family. The serfs of the crown domains remained proprietors of the lands which they were tilling. The peasants who

belonged to private individuals were obliged to share the domain with the proprietor, and to redeem the part which fell to them. The state aided them by advancing to them the price of the redemption. The lands thus purchased are owned in common by the *mir*, that is, by the community of the peasants in a village.

Emancipation of Women.—The democratic sentiment has also produced a movement in favor of women. A party has been formed which demands the emancipation of women in the name of humanity and of justice. Some demand more, others less. Some want absolute equality in the rights of man and woman. They demand equal political rights, the right to elect, and to be elected, to sit in a representative assembly, to fill political offices. Others demand social and economic equality; that women should be permitted to earn their living as men do, to enter the same schools, and to practise in all the non-political professions. Others, finally, stop at civil equality, demanding only civil rights, the right to dispose of their fortunes and of their liberty. The advocates of the liberty of woman are numerous, especially in the most civilized countries: in England, France, the United States. They have succeeded in having women admitted to the medical schools and to practice medicine. This authority has not been granted in Germany; the women who wish to study medicine must do it in France or in the universities of Switzerland. The party in favor of the political rights of woman is only to be found in English-speaking countries.

Woman-suffrage is now established in New Zealand, and in two states of the Union, Wyoming and Washington.[1]

[1] Full rights of suffrage are granted to women in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho (1905).—ED.

Military Service.—In all the European states the government, at the close of the feudal régime, ceased to exact military service from the inhabitants; the armies were composed of volunteers, usually engaged for a long term of service. In the eighteenth century certain governments had need of larger armies, and as the enrolled volunteers did not suffice, they began to levy soldiers by force from among their subjects. This was done in France by Louis XIV., in Prussia by Frederick William, in Russia by Peter the Great.[1] But the system was always applied to the peasants and laborers; the nobles and bourgeoisie were exempt.

When France was at war with all Europe, she tried, at first, to recruit her army with patriots (the volunteers of 1791–1792). But, from the beginning of the year 1793 the Convention was obliged to have recourse to a forced levy. At that time was declared the principle that every Frenchman owed military duty to his country. As all the young men fit for duty were not needed, a system of conscription was adopted. Lots were drawn to decide who should depart and who should remain.

Napoleon permitted that those who drew the lot to depart could fill their places by substitutes, whom they paid. The result was that the rich were practically exempt from military duty. This system was preserved with a change of name by all the governments until 1870. It was adopted by the greater number of the European states.

The kingdom of Prussia, which, in order to fight Napoleon, was forced to enroll all the able-bodied young

[1] The kings of Sweden had set the example from the time of Gustavus Adolphus.

men, preserved the system of universal military service, even after the war had ended. Every Prussian is a soldier; he serves in the regular army for three years, then passes into the reserve, then into the Landwehr. There is no exemption, no substitution. When the citizens of Berlin, in 1816, demanded exemption, the king replied by a threat to publish the names of all who had made the demand. But the young men who have completed their studies have the right, by enrolling in advance, to do only one year's active duty and to do it in the town of their choice. They are called one year volunteers.

The Prussian system is based rather on the absolute right of the government in regard to its subjects than on a principle of equality; for Prussian society was not then, and is not now, democratic. But the example of Prussia accustomed other peoples to the idea that every citizen is obliged to bear arms for his country.

After the victories of Prussia over Austria (1866), and over France (1870), nearly all the European states adopted the principle of obligatory military service. Usually they have followed the Prussian method, in the institution of three years and one year terms of service. France, which in 1875 had adopted the volunteer system with a term of five years, has just changed to the three years' term, and abolished the volunteer feature (1889).

Switzerland (from 1817) had been in favor of obligatory service, but it was carried out in such a way as to make it less of a burden to the citizens. Being a neutral country, and having decided never to attack any of its neighbors, it organized a service for defence alone. The young men serve only for several weeks, in the barracks, and then they return to their homes. They are called

out at certain epochs for the manœuvres, and they continue to practice with the rifle. The use of the rifle has become a national diversion and the Swiss are reported to be the best marksmen in Europe.

England alone has kept up the volunteer system. She enrolls professional soldiers by paying them one shilling a day.

The United States has only a very small army, of twenty to twenty-five thousand men. They have no hostile neighbors, and have no need of a military organization.[1]

Public Instruction.—The European governments had for a long time considered education as a private affair, which concerned only parents. There were then only private schools. Almost all were established and conducted by the Catholic or Protestant clergy; in all of them religious instruction was an essential part of the curriculum. Some German governments had, in the eighteenth century, begun to declare that parents must give their children at least primary instruction, but they were satisfied to impose on the communes the duty of providing this instruction at their expense.

The Constituent and then the Convention set forth the principle that it is the duty of the state to provide for the education of all its children. But they had no time to put this theory into practice. The Convention only succeeded in establishing central schools to replace the colleges, and primary schools. But before the organization was complete Napoleon reëstablished the colleges; the primary schools were neglected, and their establishment was left to the care of the communes.

[1] The "New Army Law" of January, 1901, established the minimum of men in the army at 57,000 and the maximum at 100,000.—ED.

Primary instruction had been much neglected in all lands until the nineteenth century.

There was a tolerably widespread idea among statesmen that the people had no need of education. Instruction, said they, unfits the people for manual labor, and gives them ideas of rebellion. When, for the first time, it was a question, in the English Parliament, of voting funds for the use of primary schools, one of the lords opposed the innovation, saying: "If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be its rider."

The principle of obligatory primary instruction was first realized in Germany, especially in the kingdoms of Saxony, Wurtemburg and Prussia. Primary schools were formed in all the communes. All children from six to fourteen years are obliged to attend school. The state finally took the burden of the larger part of the expense, so that instruction has been rendered free. The same system has been established in Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries.

Gradually the same method has been adopted by other nations. It is now admitted throughout the Continent that all children have the right to receive primary instruction. In some states this is obligatory. Such is the system in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and, since 1882, in France. England herself, according as she has grown less aristocratic, has paid more attention to popular education. The movement began immediately after the reform of 1832.

Public instruction, in fact, developed in each country according to the progress of democratic ideas. The country where primary instruction is most universally established is the most democratic in the world, the United States.

At the same time that the governments made instruction a duty they made it accessible to all by making the state or the communes bear the expense of all schools in villages and in hamlets.

In 1880 there were in France 73,000 schools[1] with 5,000,000 pupils; in Germany 57,000 schools with more than 7,000,000 pupils; in Austro-Hungary 33,000 schools and more than 4,000,000 pupils; in Italy 48,000 schools and 2,000,000 pupils; in Belgium 5,729 schools with 687,000 pupils; in Switzerland 4,800 schools and 455,000 pupils; in England 28,000 schools with 4,360,000 pupils.

Progress of Democratic Ideas.—It is evident to-day that democratic ideas have permeated all civilized nations. Writers, for the most part bourgeois or children of the people, have labored for the spread of these ideas. The lower classes have been enriched and elevated. As political and private affairs have grown more complex, it has been found necessary to take into account the personal qualities of men, and not to count so much upon the conditions under which they have been born. Through all these causes society has rapidly become more democratic.

To-day all civilized nations acknowledge equality before the law. Everywhere there is equality of taxes and equality of justice for all conditions of men. All the states admit also, at least in theory, that the functions of the state are accessible to all without distinction of birth. The better to insure this equality many offices are the object of a competitive examination. In England all the offices in the service of India have been under rules requiring this examination since 1853. All universal suf-

[1] Twelve thousand were private schools.

frage countries recognize the equality of political rights, since all have the franchise.

These ideas of equality have penetrated even into the daily life of the people. The child of the most humble citizen receives the same instruction as the children of the great families. The nobles have preserved their titles, but they live familiarly with those who are not ennobled, and one does not inquire concerning the conditions of birth before receiving a man as a guest. The aristocratic party itself has become democratic; some of its leaders are descendants of the bourgeoisie. The chief of the Tory party in England was for a long time Benjamin Disraeli, a bourgeois of Jewish origin. There remains hardly anything of an aristocratic society except in England[1] and in Hungary, and even in those countries the law is wholly democratic. "Conditions are more equal, in our day, among Christians, than they have been at any time anywhere in the world," wrote de Tocqueville in 1848.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Origin of Socialism.—In the nineteenth century there has been a complete revolution in the organization of labor. In the eighteenth century there were as yet few large cities and almost no great factories. The regulations of the trades did not permit an employer to have more than three or four workmen. These journeymen, as they were called, worked in the shop with their employer, as the artisans in our small towns still do (joiners, bakers, shoemakers); after a few years they themselves became employers.

In our day the great industry has been created. In

[1] See Thackeray, "The Book of Snobs."

order to utilize the power of machines, a great number of workmen are gathered in the same factory; in order to furnish fuel to these machines, mines have been opened which give work to thousands of men. The absolute liberty of industry, established at the demand of the economists, has permitted the proprietors of factories and mines to employ hundreds of workmen in their service by simply pledging them a certain sum per day. Then began the separation of the manufacturers, who possessed capital (the instruments of labor) and the workmen, who rented out their labor for a certain wage. This was called the conflict of capital and wages. "The workman in the factories," said M. Laveleye, "having nothing more to accomplish than a mere muscular and automatic effort, has descended below the journeyman of former times; at the same time the chief of the industry has been lifted infinitely above the master-workman. Whether the factory belongs to him, or whether he is only the director of it, this industrial leader has an immense capital at his disposal, and, like a general, he commands an army of workmen. Through his intelligence, position, and manner of living, he belongs to a different world from that occupied by his workmen. His sentiments as a man and a Christian may lead him to look upon them as brothers, nevertheless there is nothing in common between them—they are strangers to each other." The manufacturers form a part of the upper bourgeoisie, the wage-earners find themselves in a condition unknown before the nineteenth century. They live in the town where their factory is situated, but nothing holds them there. If the factory should have no need of them, they hope to find a better place elsewhere; they will go to the other end of the land in order to find work in

another town. Therefore, they have no fixed habitation. They live like nomads, ever ready to depart. They possess nothing, having only their wages to live on. The wages depend on the labor, and there is no guarantee that they will always have labor, for their employer engages them by the day or week, and does not agree to keep them beyond that time.

Thus, beside the peasant and artisan classes already established, there arose a new class formed of workers in factories and of miners. To this body was given the old Roman name proletariat (those whose only wealth is in their children). In Germany it is sometimes called the Fourth Estate, to indicate that it is inferior to the old Third Estate. The members of the modern proletariat are assuredly better fed, better lodged, and the object of less scorn than were the common people of the Middle Ages. However, they are much more discontented. They are not comfortable because they have no abiding place, and cannot count upon the future. At the same time, since society has become so democratic, they hear continually that all men are equal before the law, and that they have the same political rights as the wealthy class. They have ceased to be resigned to their fate, and have set about demanding a change in conditions.

The economists of the eighteenth century taught that poverty is the result of natural laws, and that it is inevitable. When the English government, in 1840, instituted an examination into the situation of the workingman, a large machine manufacturer, James Nasmyth, testified that he had often increased his profits by substituting apprentices for skilled workmen. When he was asked what became of the men who were dismissed and

their families, he replied, "I do not know, but I leave that to the natural laws which govern society." In the nineteenth century some theorists appeared who argued from a contrary principle. They said that poverty comes from the unequal division of wealth—some have too much, others too little; society is badly organized, the state ought to make it over in such a way as to diminish this inequality. A social revolution is necessary. These partisans of revolution were called Socialists,[1] and their doctrine was denominated socialism. The Socialists all agree in attacking our system of property ownership, and demand the intervention of the state for the purpose of establishing another system. But they do not agree on what ought to take the place of the one now existing. Therefore, they cannot form one school. There is a great difference in their teachings, especially between those of the French socialists and the Germans.

The French Socialists.—The men who governed France during the Revolution, even the Jacobins, declared that property rights were sacred and inviolable. At the beginning of the Directorate, Babeuf tried to cause a revolution in order to abolish private ownership and to establish a community of goods; but the communist party, which was small in numbers, was broken up by the government. Socialism did not become a system in France until after the Restoration. The principal leaders were Saint-Simon and Fourier.

The French socialists, like the men of the Revolution,

[1] There were in antiquity, and during the Renaissance, certain philosophers who were pleased to describe an ideal state of society (Plato, Campanella, More), but they regarded their descriptions as dreams, impossible of realization. That which distinguishes the socialists of our day is, that they want to realize their ideals, and they are not content with dreaming, but wish to institute a reform.

based their system on general sentiments and principles. They attacked property ownership as being contrary to justice and humanity, and proposed the construction of a wholly new society. The formula of Saint-Simon was, "To each one according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its production." He wanted a society where the state only would be proprietor, and would distribute to each member an income in proportion to the labor performed. Fourier set down this formula, "To each one according to his needs." He dreamed of a society founded on harmony, the voluntary agreement of men united to work in common from a love for labor. All men would form an association and would be divided into phalanxes, each composed of 1,800 persons, the phalanx would lodge in a great palace, the phalanstery, with a cellar, kitchen, and granary common to all. The artists and savants would be paid by a voluntary contribution from all the phalanxes.

Among the men who carried out the revolution of 1848 and became members of the provincial governments there were several socialists. They declared that society is bound to furnish work to every one who demands it. The provisional government, therefore, proclaimed the right to labor, and, following the advice of Louis Blanc, national workshops were established. But the state not having any labor for the employment of mechanics, put them to work cultivating the soil. The national workshops had cost 14,000,000 francs, when they were closed. The failure[1] of this experiment brought discredit upon socialist doctrines in France; the townspeople and the

[1] The government was suspected of having willingly caused the failure of the experiment.

peasants regarded them with terror, as they were represented to set forth the idea of the division of property, The historian of French socialism, Louis Reybaud, wrote in 1854 that socialism was dead. "To speak of it," said he, "is to deliver its funeral oration."

German Socialism.—A new socialism has grown up in Germany since 1863. The founders were German Jews, Lassalle and Karl Marx. Both had been disciples of the French socialists. They were men of the people, intelligent, almost learned. They founded their system not on sentiment or on principles, but on facts, in order to secure the acceptance of their projects for reform. They invoked not humanity and justice, but political economy and statistics. Both took for their point of departure a scientific law, admitted by the economists themselves.

Marx started with the law formulated by Adam Smith and Ricardo: that riches are solely the product of labor; the value of objects comes from the amount of labor necessary for their production. Capital is, therefore, by itself, of no value. "It is," said Marx, "dead labor, which can only be revived by sucking like a vampire."[1] It has value only through the labor of the workman. Since it is, therefore, the workman who alone produces value, it is to the laborer alone, not to capital, that the profits should accrue. In place of wages, therefore, the workman should receive his share of the profits of the industry. Such was the theory of Marx. Lassalle starts from what is called the "iron law of wage"—a law asserted by the old economists and which Turgot formulated as follows: "The simple workman who has nothing but his arms, has noth-

[1] This comparison has had great success. Thus there is often found in socialist journals the expression vampirism, in allusion to the power of a great industry.

ing but his labor, which he can succeed in selling to others. He sells it more or less dear, but this price, be it high or low, is the result of an agreement which he makes with the one who pays him for his work. The latter pays the least that he can, and as he has the choice from a large number of workmen, he prefers to take the one who will work cheapest. The workmen are, therefore, obliged to lower their prices, vying with each other in order to obtain the situation. In every kind of labor it must happen, then, that the wages of a laborer must be confined to the limit of what is absolutely necessary for subsistence. "With society organized as it is," said Lassalle, "the workman is always forced to lower the price; in vain does he work more, he will gain only enough to keep from starving to death; his labor will be of profit only to the capitalist who employs him. To-day the laborer is at the service of capital. Capital, on the contrary, should be at the service of the laborer; the workman would then obtain some results from his labor." Such is the theory of Lassalle.[1] In order to put it into practice, like Louis Blanc, he turned to the state and demanded the organization of labor by furnishing capital to workingmen.

Marx and Lassalle did not confine themselves to writing. In a few years they succeeded in organizing a powerful party in Germany. The socialist-democratic party, organ-

[1] It has been demonstrated to-day that the laws set forth by the old economists, and accepted by Marx and Lassalle, are not exact. It is not true that the value of an object rests on the amount of labor expended upon it. Bordeaux wine, which is worth ten francs a bottle does not require more labor than does a bad wine at ten sous a litre; wheat harvested on fertile lands is worth more than the grain from a common soil, and yet it has cost less labor. It is not labor that has value, but the utility of the object. Neither is it true that wages are always based on the minimum necessary to support the workman; in fact, for thirty years wages have been increasing in all countries.

ized in 1866, had in 1893 more than forty deputies in the Reichstag. It holds meetings, publishes journals, and the German government considers it as of sufficient importance to demand that special laws be passed against the spread of socialism (1878). The German socialists do not demand the complete overthrow of society,[1] They do not want to do away with private ownership of property, with the right of inheritance, or with private liberty. They only demand that the state should change the system of property rights, that the instruments of labor (the factories, mines, railways, the great estates) should cease to belong to individuals or to companies; all should be the collective property of the nation; the state should be charged with loaning them to societies of workmen. Therefore, one branch of the party calls itself "Collectivist."

The International Association of Workmen.—During the universal exposition at London, in 1862, the foreign workmen who were gathered at London conceived the idea of an alliance between the workmen of all countries; in 1866 was founded the International Association of Laborers. It was led by one of the German socialists, Karl Marx, and at first only proposed to arrange in groups or sections all the workingmen, in order that there should be a concert of action in case of strikes. Every year delegates were to meet in a congress; the first meeting was at Geneva in 1866, and there were sixty delegates. As the assessment was only one or two francs a year, the number of members soon rose to several millions. "They were admitted to the association as easily as one takes a

[1] A German savant, Schaeffle, has given a summary of socialist ideas in "The Quintessence of Socialism."

glass of wine." From the time of the third congress (Brussels, 1868) the International began to contend for a transformation in society which would do away with wages, "that new form of slavery." The Congress of Basle (1869) declared that "society has the right to abolish the individual ownership of the soil, and to have it made common to all." The International seemed then to be very powerful and very dangerous; it was even suspected of having led the insurrection of the Commune, and governments began to pass laws against it. In truth, it had very feeble resources, and did not do much but issue proclamations. In 1872 a disagreement arose among the leaders, and since 1874 it has become disorganized.

The Anarchists.—Opposed to the socialist party of Karl Marx, which ruled the International, a new party was formed in 1872 called the Anarchist party. The chief was a Russian, Bakounin, founder of the International Alliance, of the Social Democracy, and who was driven from the International by the Hague Congress in 1872.

The anarchists propose no reforms. They want simply to "destroy all the states, all the churches, with all their institutions, and their laws, religious, political, judicial, financial, police, university, economic, and social, so that all the millions of poor human beings will henceforth breathe with perfect freedom." In the place of what they propose to destroy they offer nothing. "All reasoning concerning the future is criminal, because it prevents entire destruction and encroaches on the march of the Revolution."

There are anarchists in all the countries of Europe, and some are found in the large cities of the United States,

but the party has played an active rôle in Russia alone. There it is especially a political party which protests against the despotism of the czar and of the Russian administration by seeking the assassination of the czar and of his functionaries. To these Russian revolutionists who, through hatred of tyranny, want to destroy all and create nothing, has often been given the name nihilist (partisans of nothing), which the novelist Turgénieff had given to the discontented Russian revolutionists in 1852.

Social Theories and Reforms.—The economists are to-day divided into two schools. One is called the Liberal school, because it demands absolute liberty for all industry. It starts with the principle that society left to itself is naturally organized in such a manner as would be most advantageous to all. The relations of employer and employed should be allowed to regulate themselves without the intervention of the state, by the sole action of natural laws, free competition, and the law of supply and demand. There is no social question, only questions of economics. The government cannot do better than to permit the citizens to arrange matters among themselves. This is sometimes called the orthodox school, because it has remained faithful to the doctrines of the founders of political economy. It is also called the Manchester school, for since 1832 it has had its centre at Manchester, England. It has especially the support of the French economists.

The other school, which is founded on the observation of facts, is entitled the Historic school, or the Realistic school. It maintains that the absolute liberty of industry has had for result the production of misery and the spread of selfishness and hatred among the classes. The most

important thing, it declares, is not to create any more wealth, there is enough already, so that no one need suffer from want; the difficulty is to make a just division of it. This is a social question. It cannot be solved except by laws which will regulate the distribution of the profits. Therefore the state must intervene to make these laws. This school had its source in Germany, and its partisans are chiefly among the professors at the universities. Since 1872 they have held frequent congresses, where questions of political economy were discussed, and where legislative reforms were proposed. Their adversaries have called them "Socialists of the chair," because they teach from the desks in the universities a doctrine which on one point resembles socialism.

The social agitations and discussions which for half a century have filled so large a part in the life of the nations have called attention to the condition of the workingman. It has seemed as if poverty were the principal cause of the agitation. In Germany it was said "that the social question was a question of the stomach." Therefore, an effort was made to diminish pauperism and to ameliorate the condition of the lower classes.

The state has prohibited the employment of young children in the factories, and the employment of women at too severe tasks. (The investigation of 1842 in England revealed the fact that in certain mines women were employed for from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, under ground, hitched to wagons loaded with coal). The manufacturers in England are also obliged to close their shops for one day in seven for the purpose of allowing their workmen a time of repose.

The state, the communes, and private parties have

founded bureaus of public assistance, which distribute supplies to the indigent, hospitals where the sick are cared for gratuitously, asylums where the old and infirm find shelter. Free primary and professional schools have been established for the benefit of the children of the people.

The workmen have sought to form associations to render their lives more agreeable. They have established societies for mutual aid, where each member, in return for the yearly assessment, has the right to receive aid in case of illness; societies for the supply of commodities, whose members are furnished goods at a much lower price than that asked in the large shops; loan companies, which lend money to their members (such are the banks of Schultze-Delitsch in Germany), and even coöperative societies which permit the workmen to put in common their savings, for the purpose of buying a shop, where they can labor for themselves. The most celebrated, that of the Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale, founded in 1834, with only twenty members, had, in 1867, 823 members and was possessed of a capital of 3,200,000 francs.

The employers also have made some reforms in the interest of their men. They have built cities for them where each workman may become owner of a house, for which he pays in small sums from time to time. They have created a retiring fund, where the capital is partly taken from the wages and partly from the profits. Some have even organized a system which enables the workmen to share in the profits of the factory.

Never has so much been done to render life less painful to those who must suffer.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

The Part Taken by France in the Social, Political and Economic Progress of the Nineteenth Century.—It is very difficult to distinguish what each country has done toward the civilization of the world. The work is international; the labor of one nation mingling with the labor of every other, for the benefit of all.

It may be said, however, that France has contributed more than any other nation to make possible the great social progress of the century by the establishment of a society founded on equality of rights. All societies from the beginnings of civilization had been divided into classes. All admitted privileges were sustained by law. In 1789 France set forth the principle that "men are born and remain equal before the law," and this principle was finally adopted by other nations. It was France that introduced the democratic system into Europe.

In political matters France has usually borrowed from England the institutions which she needed for reorganization after the destruction of the ancient régime. But in adopting them she transformed them to the conditions of Continental living. Therefore, the greater part of the constitutions of Germany, Spain, Belgium, and Italy has been drawn up on the model of the French. The parliamentary system, such as it is in Europe, is an English creation modified by experience in France.

As for progress in economics, nearly all had its origin in England. The English people, richer, more accustomed to industry, thanks to their mines of iron and coal, better situated for carrying on a marine trade, took the lead of all the other nations during the wars which depopulated and ruined Europe. Therefore, it was England which for more than a century gave to other nations an example of progress in economics. It was the English who invented steam engines and railways, which set up a model for the great factories, for working mines, and building railways and steamboats, which organized the system of banking and credit, as well as stock companies, coöperative companies, and workingmen's associations.

France was more often contented to imitate the English economic institutions. She exercised no creative power in the economic progress of the world. But she took an important part in it. In order to perceive this, a comparison of the statistics of to-day with those of the early years of the century will suffice.

The value of land has more than doubled since 1815, the hectare was then worth about 700 francs; in 1874 it was worth 2,000 francs; it has declined since that time, and in 1889 was worth only 1,700 francs. The total value has risen to 90,000,000,000 francs. Between 1851 and 1869 the rise was most rapid (the value of land increased more than 25,000,000,000 francs). The cultivation of wheat covered only 4,500,000 hectares in 1815, and produced only 40,000,000 hectolitres; to-day it covers 6,800,000 hectares and yields 100,000,000 hectolitres. The production of nine hectolitres a hectare has increased to fourteen. The sugar beet, which in 1840 covered only 58,000 hectares, now requires 520,000.

The number of houses and factories in 1823 was less than 6,500,000, in 1888 it had increased to more than 9,000,000, and the value of these constructions had increased in greater proportion than their number; in 1851 the valuation was 20,000,000,000, francs; in 1888 nearly 40,000,000,000. The city of Paris was worth in 1828 from 3,000,000,000 to 4,000,000,000 francs, to-day it is worth 17,000,000,000 francs.

Industry has been almost entirely created since the Restoration. In 1848, the production each year amounted to 5,500,000,000 francs; to-day it is in the neighborhood of 12,000,000,000 francs.

Commerce with foreign ports from 1815 to 1825 averaged 400,000,000 francs imports, and 500,000,000 francs exports. Since that time the following is the average for every ten years;

	Importation	Exportation
1827–1837	667,000,000	898,000,000
1837–1847	1,088,000,000	1,024,000,000
1847–1857	1,503,000,000	1,672,000,000
1857–1867	2,982,000,000	3,293,000,000
1867–1877	4,262,000,000	4,202,000,000
1877–1887	5,448,000,000	4,383,000,000

Position of France Among the Great European Powers.—France has a territory of 528,000 square kilometres, with a population of 38,000,000 souls.

The other great powers have: England, 315,000 kilometres with 37,000,000 souls; Germany 540,000 kilometres with 47,000,000 souls; Austria-Hungary 623,000

kilometres with 40,000,000 souls; Russia, 5,416,000 kilometres with 93,000,000 souls.

In no country (save Belgium and Holland) has the land the same value as in France. England alone surpasses France in the value of her improvements. Her industries are superior to those of the other nations, England excepted. She produces more and her workmen are better paid.

In commerce she is next to England, which exports 5,500,000,000 francs, and imports 9,000,000,000 francs. But she surpasses Germany, whose exports and imports are each valued at 4,000,000,000 francs; Austria-Hungary, which imports 1,400,000,000 francs and exports 1,700,000,000 francs, and Russia, whose imports are valued at 1,000,000,000 francs, and whose exports are about 1,500,000,000 francs.

In number of sailing vessels the French merchant marine ranks seventh in Europe after England, Norway, Germany, Italy, Russia and Sweden, but in steam vessels it occupies the second place.

In the matter of correspondence France is outdone by England, where the average is forty-nine letters for each inhabitant; Switzerland, with an average of twenty-seven for each inhabitant; Germany, with an average of twenty-one, while the average in France is only nineteen for each inhabitant.

The amount of money entrusted to the savings-banks is larger in France than in any other country except Prussia. It is estimated at 3,000,000,000 francs.

The total wealth of France is valued[1] at 200,000,000,000 francs, with a revenue of 24,000,000,000. England alone

[1] By Mulhall.

has a larger capital, 218,000,000,000 francs, with a revenue of 31,000,000,000 francs; Germany is second to France, with a capital of 158,000,000,000 francs, and a revenue of 21,000,000,000 francs; Russia's capital amounts to 108,000,000,000 francs, with 19,000,000,000 francs revenue; Austria-Hungary has 90,000,000,000 francs, with a revenue of 15,000,000,000 francs.[1]

As regards military strength, the French navy (191 vessels) ranks next to that of England (383 vessels). She has the largest army on a peace footing (600,000 men). In time of war the army would be almost equal to that of Germany. Russia has a larger effective force on paper, but it would probably be difficult to mobilize all her contingent.

The Present Condition of the World.—The number of men of every race on the globe is estimated at about 1,450,000,000; 330,000,000 in Europe, 800,000,000 in Asia, 200,000,000 in Africa, 100,000,000 in America. There are on the earth a great number of distinct races, but most of them, reduced to a few savage tribes, are on the point of extinction, like the natives of Tasmania, or, like the Indians of North America, are being merged in more powerful races. In fact, there remain only three great races. To the white race belong the half of Asia, Europe, America, Australia, and the coasts of Africa; the yellow race has Eastern Asia, where it has spread through the Malay archipelago; the negroes dwell in Africa, and in the tropical regions of America, where they were carried as slaves. It is the same with the different religions. They are numerous still, but the greater number are practised by a few tribes and are disappearing before

[1] These figures are arbitrary.

the more thoroughly organized religions still more rapidly than the races. Four great religions are dominant: Christianity in Europe and America. There are 435,000,000 Christians divided among three branches: 200,000,000 Catholics, 150,000,000 Protestants, 85,000,000 orthodox Greeks. Islam rules in Africa and in Western Asia. There are 170,000,000 Mussulmans. Buddhism predominates in Eastern Asia, where there are 500,000,000 devotees. Brahminism in India numbers 150,000,000. (There are from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 Israelites scattered through the world). There remain about 230,000,000 idolaters among the savages of Oceania, the Indians of America, and among the negroes in Africa. They are being rapidly converted, some to Christianity, others to Islamism.

The races do not correspond to the religions. There are among the whites, Christians, Mussulmans and Brahmins; the negroes are divided between Christianity and Islam. But to each religion a form of civilization corresponds: European civilization to Christianity, Arab civilization to Islamism, the Hindoo civilization to Brahminism, and the Chinese to Buddhism. The Hindoo civilization has ceased to develop and to spread; perhaps it will be merged with the European civilization introduced into India by the English. The Arab civilization has been declining ever since the Moslem world fell into the hands of the barbarous Turks. There remain two civilizations which up to the present have not been able to make an impression on each other, the European and the Chinese.

We have an irresistible inclination to regard our own European civilization as the only true one, and to hope that

it will absorb or suppress its rivals. Already the largest part of the globe belongs to one of the three great branches of the European peoples: the Russians representing the Slav race, occupy Northern Asia; the Anglo-Saxons, representing the Germanic race, are masters of North America, India and Oceania; the Latin peoples, represented by the Spanish and Portuguese, are in possession of South America. To these three groups correspond three languages which reign over the vast territory: English is spoken by about 120,000,000 people; Russian by 100,000,000; Spanish by 50,000,000. German, which is the language of Central Europe, is spoken by more than 60,000,000; French by 46,000,000; but both are confined to a restricted territory.

It would be puerile, however, to judge of the importance of a people by the number who speak its language, and by the number of square kilometres it possesses. A nation is judged chiefly by the part which its savants, writers, artists, and engineers take in the work of our common civilization. France plays a much more important rôle in the world than Spain. It may be that some day the Russians, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Hispano-Americans may dominate the world by force of numbers, but that day has not yet come. The three great nations of our time, those who rise above the others by their activity, and who direct the march of civilization, are still the English, the French, and the Germans.

All these peoples have a common civilization born of the antique transmitted to all Christian countries, and which all are laboring to make more perfect. They have the same instruments of labor, the same methods of industry, the same means of transportation; all have

factories, steam engines, railways, telegraphs; all work their mines and cultivate the soil. The newly settled countries of America and Oceania are agricultural countries; the temperate portions produce wheat and cattle, the warm latitudes furnish cotton, rice, coffee, and spices.

Two-thirds of Europe have also remained agricultural countries; the Latin countries in the south supply wines and fruits, the Slav countries in the east furnish grain, skins, and woods. Industry occupies chiefly the Germanic peoples of the north: England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Northern France. There it is that the population is most dense and increases most rapidly; in Belgium there are 192 inhabitants to one square kilometre, in England 172, in Holland 128, in Germany 84, in the canton of Geneva 364, in France only 71. In England the yearly increase in population is 9.2 per 100, in Sweden 11.5, in Germany 10, in Holland 9, in France 2.3. Since 1700 Great Britain has increased in population from 8,000,000 to 35,000,000; Germany from 19,000,000 to 46,000,000; France from 19,000,000 to 37,000,000.

All civilized countries are bound together by a network of railways (450,000 kilometres), by lines of steamboats (97), of telegraphs (1,200,000 kilometres), of sub-marine cables (150,000 kilometres), and by the Universal Postal Union. They exchange their products and their capital. They are in constant communication. Every day the journals, informed by telegraph, give the news of the whole world.

In all civilized countries life tends to become of the same type. Everywhere are found the same great cities with straight streets, great squares, pavements, sidewalks, omnibuses, gas, sewers, and water brought from a dis-

tance. The peasants and the workmen of Eastern Europe, slower in changing their habits, still keep their old customs and dress; but the bourgeoisie have everywhere the same occupations, the same distractions, and the same customs; everywhere, English dress, Parisian fashions, the theatre, the journals, the clubs, and the Exchange. Ideas are also communicated from one country to another. Everywhere the savants are working according to the same methods; they work at science in common, and even gather in international scientific congresses. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music are common to all peoples. Literary works still have a national character, owing to the difference in languages, but they circulate in foreign lands, in the form of translations, and literature from one end of the world to the other is crossed by the same currents.

The civilized nations borrow even their political systems from each other. The examples of England and of the French Revolution have caused the introduction everywhere of a constitutional régime. There are in Europe nineteen independent states (including Bulgaria), in America eighteen (without counting the colonies). All the states of Europe save two are monarchies; all the states of America are republics. Under this difference in form, all, except Russia, have the same structure: a parliament, representing the nation, a budget discussed and voted upon by the representatives, liberty of the press, security guaranteed by police and by regularly constituted tribunals. Thus everything which goes to make up the life of civilized nations, industry, commerce, practical life, science, arts, manners, political customs, everything except the language, has become common

to all nations. However, the nations united by so many bonds, seek neither to be merged, nor to form a union.

They are separated by language, by industrial competition and by ancient antipathies. In Europe especially, where the population is more dense, where national disturbances still continue, where centuries of wars, conquests, and annexations have sown hatred among the peoples, the states regard each other with suspicion.

Since the victory of Prussia over France all the powers have been holding themselves ready for war; they support larger permanent armies than have ever been known. Russia has 750,000 soldiers, Italy 750,000, France 600,000; Germany 450,000. Thanks to a reserve system, which makes every able-bodied man liable to military duty, the number could easily be trebled. That is the régime of the "armed nation." The average annual cost to Europe is 4,500,000,000 francs. Europe lives in peace, but it is an armed peace, as ruinous as war.

The civilized world finds itself between two opposing currents. The common civilization has created an international current which contributes to the solidarity of peoples and draws them together; the rivalries and hatreds create a national current, which induces the nations to isolation, and to treat each other as enemies. On the force of these currents depends the future of the world.

Characteristics of Contemporary Civilization.—How are we to define the characteristics of the civilization of which we are a part? Let us compare our mode of living with that of antiquity, and of the Renaissance. The contrast will show us how our century differs from those that have preceded it, and will show us what there may be of originality in our civilization. The civilized peoples are no

longer confined to Europe; they have taken possession of the rest of the globe and are endeavoring to cultivate and populate it. Therefore, civilization is no longer European, it is universal.

In order to carry on material labors, which are the great work of civilized life, our ancestors had to depend on the strength of man and of the domestic animals. Contemporary civilization works by the aid of machines. The quantity of manual labor has diminished, factories supply by wholesale all the objects necessary to our existence. Agriculture even has been changed into an industry. Civilization becomes industrial.

The great industries and the methods of agriculture have created wealth beyond our necessities. The excess in production has, in less than a century, accumulated such an enormous capital that the manufacturers and financiers of our day surpass in opulence the great lords of the olden time.

At the same time, luxury has also increased and been spread abroad. If it is less brilliant than in the time when the great lords had a monopoly of it, it is much more general, and has permeated all classes of society. All manufactured products are sold at such a low price, commerce has transported the produce of warm climates in such abundance everywhere, that they have ceased to be objects of luxury, and have become necessities for all ranks of society.

From the new inventions has come what the English call comfort. We enjoy a thousand refinements of which our ancestors hardly dreamed, rapid transportation, good roads, well-kept hotels, sea-baths, tours for pleasure, newspapers, reviews, theatres, concerts, museums, paved,

lighted, and swept streets. A simple citizen has in our day a much more agreeable life than the great seignior of the olden time.

Peoples who were formerly isolated have been brought together by the facility of transportation and of communication. Each profits by the progress of all; commerce, credit, the press, the sciences have created an international civilization.

The soul of this civilization is science. Formerly it was only a pastime for choice spirits. Since it has formulated its methods and verified its results, it has assumed a practical role; it has become the guide of industry and of commerce, and has even begun to rule in politics. It has, therefore, become for all classes an instrument of education for the mind and for the character. Everywhere schools and libraries are establishments of public utility; the primary school is a state institution.

Contemporary science results from a study of the minutiæ of facts; it leads to bold applications which totally change the face of things. It thus inspires at the same time a taste for seeing the truth as it really is and for transforming it. The union of these two sentiments, contradictory in appearance, is a characteristic of our contemporary intellectual life. Realism is the product of this passionate search for exactitude, and idealism is the product of the desire for indefinite progress.

Contemporary art is realistic. Our artists insist less on the perfection of form than on the exactitude and abundance of detail. On the other hand, the necessity for an ideal has penetrated political life under the name of a love of progress.

Society formerly rested upon fact, consecrated by tra-

dition; the only thought was of preserving this tradition. In our time an attempt is made to ameliorate institutions by modelling them on a theoretic ideal. Force and custom ruled the old forms of society; modern society is founded on principles.

The family and property rights are all that remain of the ancient organization. The rest has been transformed. Modern society no longer recognizes the right of one man over another, of the master over the slave, of the employer over employee, of the seignior over the serf; it only admits the authority of the father of a family over wife and children; every man is free; no one owes submission to any one. The customs and laws which bound the lives of individuals have disappeared; every man can dispose of his person and his property, liberty of conscience, of worship, of speech, liberty to go and come, to choose one's domicile, to regulate his style of living, liberty in manufactures, in commerce—contemporary society acknowledges all these. It rests upon the liberty of the individual. The ancient laws were aristocratic, they divided men into unequal classes and assigned to each his rank; modern society is democratic, it has made all men equal before the law, and has preserved only the inequality which results from fortunes; it has established public equality.

Formerly a small number of the privileged classes, citizens or nobles, alone formed the nation. "A well-regulated city," said Aristotle, "will not make citizens of workmen." Manual labor was scorned, and laborers were excluded from the government. Contemporary society admits all the inhabitants into the body politic, even laborers; it has rehabilitated manual labor, it

honors manufacturers and men in commerce equally with the landed proprietor.

The government is no longer the exclusive property of an aristocracy of citizens, of an emperor, or of a royal family, it is the self-governing nation.

Ancient societies lived in confusion and violence. Modern states have a systematic administration, which is informed of everything and maintains order everywhere. The police and the judiciary are sufficiently strong to afford protection to private individuals against the attacks of malefactors; the officers are sufficiently honest and watched over to prevent them from doing violence any longer to individuals. There are neither brigands nor pirates in the civilized world—*security* is complete.

War between nations has not disappeared, but it is now regarded as a necessary evil. Warriors no longer form a privileged class; one is a soldier from a sense of duty, not for amusement or from a sentiment of honor. Wars are murderous, but they are rare and short. Civilization has become pacific.

All these changes have rendered life more comfortable, more agreeable, and more free. Never has civilization gathered about man so many conditions for happiness. Are we happier than our ancestors? No one can affirm that. Happiness depends more on inward sentiment than on exterior advantages. Our life is better organized than that of our fathers, but, like children too sumptuously brought up in luxury, we are accustomed to comfort, and scarcely feel the charm of it; our education has enfeebled our sense of enjoyment. Since the ancient times everything has changed—material life, intellectual life, social life. We must expect that the future will differ from the

present, just as the present differs from the past. Perhaps our own generation even may be a witness of these great changes, for it seems that the more our civilization advances, the more rapid becomes its march. We need not be alarmed by it; humanity has passed through great transformations without perishing. The history of civilization should teach us to have confidence in the future.

APPENDIX I

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List of the principal works to which the reader may refer for the details, which have found no place in this short history.

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APPENDIX II

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